WORDS
ANCIENT & MODERN

ERNEST WEEKLEY

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BY ERNEST WEEKLEY, M.A.

" Licuit semperque licebit
Signatum præsente nota producere nomen.
Ut silvæ foliis pronos mutantur in annos ;
Prima cadunt ; ita verborum vetus interit ætas,
Et juvenum ritu florent modo nata vigentque."
(Hor. *De Arte Poetica*, 58–62.)

" L'alphabet est une propriété universelle et chacun est libre de s'en servir pour créer un mot " (CASANOVA).

PREFACE

In 1859 Trench published his Select Glossary, in which he illustrated by apt and copious examples the changes that have taken place in the meanings of a large number of words. His book, of which many editions have appeared, has been of great assistance to students and lexicographers. It is not, however, except in the vaguest sense, etymological.

The little book now offered to those who have been good enough to like my Romance of Words is written with a rather different aim from that of Trench. It tries to give fairly complete biographies of a certain number of words whose history, from the point of view of origin or sense-development, has been unusually adventurous; what one might call, in fact, "words with a past."

The articles have been written at odd times, and the treatment varies according to the nature of the problem involved. Sometimes the main interest is etymological, e.g., in the case of *akimbo, burgee, mop, plot, trudge,* and many others, I have tried to establish origins for words which the Oxford Dictionary [1] leaves unsolved. Such articles as those on *magazine, philistine, verge, weird,* attempt to summarize in simple form facts in word-history, which, though familiar to philologists, may have some novelty for the layman. Some

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[1] I have used this name throughout for the great work which two generations of scholars have known as the N.E.D., but which is now, we are told, to be described as the O.E.D.

words, e.g. *agnostic* and *starvation*, *henchman* and *raid*, have been included because of the special circumstances of their creation or resuscitation. Occasionally, as in the article on *wassail*, I have allowed myself to wander on in the fashion with which my long-suffering students are familiar.

Several of the researches here put into simple language have appeared, in a less digestible form, in the Transactions of the Philological Society and other learned periodicals. A few of them, such as that on the Chaucerian *anlace*, may still be rather too tough for general consumption. The articles on *blackmail* and *bourgeois* are reprinted, with the Editor's permission, from the Observer.

One of the greatest of European philologists has lately regretted the lack of historical treatment in etymological dictionaries.[1] They give the origins of words, but seldom touch on the special circumstances of their birth or on their adventures in childhood, youth, and middle age. I ventured to say something of the same kind in the Preface to my Etymological Dictionary.[2] It is obviously impracticable to write the lives of all English words on the scale of the Dictionary of National Biography, but, if this little volume of " short stories " finds readers, it may have a sequel.

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[1] M. Antoine Meillet, speaking at Prague in the spring of 1925.
[2] An Etymological Dictionary of Modern English (John Murray, 1921). See Preface, p. vii.

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N.B.

Vulgar Latin = the colloquial speech of the Romans, much of which can be inferred from a comparison of the Romance languages (French, Provençal, Italian, Spanish, etc.). See, e.g., *inodiare* (p. 10).

Late Latin = the language of those authors who wrote in Latin between the end of the classical period (*c.* A.D. 200) and the beginning of the Middle Ages. See, e.g., *labina* (p. 11).

Medieval Latin = the corrupt Latin, largely composed of words of non-Latin origin, used by medieval writers and administrators. See, e.g., *cumfiria* (p. 49). That form of it found in England is called Anglo-Latin. See, e.g., *anelacius* (p. 5).

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Agnostic

I am not sure of the name of the " literary man " who derived *agnostic* from Lat. *agnoscere*, to acknowledge. The late W. P. Ker once told me that it was * * *, but a cursory inspection of * * * 's works has not led to the discovery of the passage in question.

In the middle of the 19th century much hostility was aroused in pious circles by the " atheistical " teachings of those biologists who expressed doubts as to the literal exactitude of the first chapter of Genesis. The great name on the scientific side in the struggle between old-fashioned theology and the evolution theory was that of Thomas Henry Huxley, who was not only a great biologist, but a distinguished prosewriter. As Mr. Julian Huxley says, " It is sometimes as well in these easier-going and theologically more tolerant days to remember what power of inertia, what violence of the *odium theologicum*, there was in the opposition. ' Professor Huxley ' became a sort of bogy in orthodox lower middle-class families, almost as ' Boney ' had done for the nation in earlier days " (Observer, May 3, 1925).

Few people like the name *atheist*, offensive when applied to another, and only assumed as a title by the bolshevist or the bounder. *Unbeliever* is almost as

bad : one might as well be called *miscreant*[1] at once. Huxley wanted an inoffensive word to express the attitude of mind represented by Montaigne's " Que sçais-je ? " He thought of the altar which St. Paul (Acts xvii. 23) saw at Athens " to the Unknown God," Ἀγνώστῳ Θεῷ, and coined *agnostic* from the Greek word (= unknowing, unknown, unknowable), by analogy with *gnostic*, a name given to Early Christian heretical sects which claimed transcendental knowledge and power of mystic interpretation. The word was suggested by Huxley at a gathering held in 1869 at the house of James Knowles, and was at once adopted by friend and foe.

Akimbo

For this curious word, first recorded c. 1400, the Oxford Dictionary proposes no etymology. It mentions, only to reject them, two unlikely guesses that have been made. Skeat also mentions one of these, viz. Old Norse *keng-boginn*, crooked, with the comment "very doubtful ; a guess." The earliest record is, from the Mid. English Tale of Beryn, " The hoost set his hond in kene-bowe." Later we find *a-kenbow*, and the word occurs, with various spellings, throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, settling down by the 19th to the present form. It is generally used of a bullying, provocative attitude, like French " les poings sur les hanches," which automatically suggests a vituperative fishwife. That it was regarded as a colloquialism or vulgarism may be inferred from the fact that the early lexicographers—Bailey, Johnson, Todd, Richardson—only record it under the word *kimbo*, of which more anon. Grose, in his slang dic-

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[1] Present Participle of Old Fr. *mescreire*, to disbelieve.

tionary, entitled a Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue (1785), describes it as " cant," and explains that to " set one's arms *a kimbaw*, vulgarly pronounced *a kimbo*, is to rest one's hands on the hips keeping the elbows square, and sticking out from the body, an insolent, bullying attitude." It occurs frequently, however, in the early Latin-English dictionaries of the 17th century as the only possible rendering of Lat. *ansatus*.

The best way to solve the etymology of a word of this kind is to adopt the comparative method. How do other nations express the attitude ? We will start with Lat. *ansatus*, lit. furnished with handles, as in *vas ansatum*, a pitcher with two " ears." *Ansa* is explained by Cooper as the " eare or handle of a cuppe or pot." Plautus, our chief literary authority for colloquial Latin, has (Persa, II. v. 7) *ansatus homo*, which Cooper renders " a man with his armes on kenbow." It is evident that this attitude has some suggestion of a vessel with two curved handles. So we find in French, " *les bras courbez en anse :* with armes a-kemboll " (Cotgrave, 1611) ; " *il marche, pliant les bras en forme d'anse :* he walks with his arms on kembow" (Miège, 1679) ; "*faire le pot à deux anses :* to set one's arms a kembo, to strut " (Boyer, 1702). Mathurin Régnier (+ 1613) describes a bore as " ayant, ainsi qu'un pot, les mains sur les roignons "[1] (Sat. viii). Kilian's Dutch-Latin Dictionary (1620) renders *koperen pot*, lit. copper pot, by " *homo ansatus*, i.e. qui incedit utroque brachio in ansarum modum ad latera applicato." Ludwig's German-English Dictionary (1706) explains " to set his arms a kembo " as " die arme in die seite setzen, wie ein

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[1] Lit. his hands on his kidneys (*rognons*).

topf mit zwei henckeln," i.e. like a pot with two
handles, and Schwan's German-French Dictionary
(1783) gives, as the equivalent of " einen henkeltopf
machen," the French " faire le pot à deux anses," lit.
to make a pot with two handles. Finally Seoane's
Spanish-English Dictionary (1854) has " *andar en
jarras*: to set one's arms a-kimbo," a *jarra* being,
according to Oudin's Spanish-French Dictionary (1660),
" un pot qui est ventru et rond et à deux anses," i.e.
an amphora.

I have not pursued the quest into any more Euro-
pean languages, but I think these examples make it
very likely that *kimbo* had originally the meaning of
a jug-handle or " pot-ear," Lat. *ansa*. This seems to
have been Dryden's interpretation of the word. Where
Virgil has—

> Et nobis idem Alcimedon duo pocula fecit,
> Et molli circum est ansas amplexus acantho.
>
> (Ecl. iii),

Dryden translates—

> And I have two, to match your pair, at home ;
> The wood the same, from the same hand they came ;
> The kimbo-handles seem with bear's-foot [1] carved.

It may, I think, be assumed that the second element
is *bow*, used in older English of anything bent (*elbow*,
rainbow, *saddle-bow*, etc.), but the first is uncertain.
My own opinion is that it is *can*, a vessel. We now
think of a *can* as metallic, but the name was originally
applied in English, as in other languages, to any
vessel for holding liquids. In the 1388 version of the
Wyclifite Bible the " six water-pots " of the Marriage
in Cana are " sixe stonun cannes," and Holyoak's
Latin Dictionary (1612) explains *amphora* as " a can

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[1] Popular name of acanthus or brankursine.

with two eares." Hence it is obvious that *can-bow*
would be a very good equivalent for pot-handle. The
further phonetic changes are normal.[1] Against this
must be placed the earliest-known form, *kene-bow*, and
the absence of any record of *can-bow* in the literal
sense postulated. There is, however, an Old Fr.
quenne, found in the north-east (Norman, Picard, and
Walloon), and still living in dialect, which may con-
ceivably have been borrowed by English. In a Wal-
loon Dictionary of 1777 it is glossed by " vase, cruche,
amphora." If the following quotation from Thomas's
Latin Dictionary (1644) were only two centuries older,
it would be conclusive : "*Ansatus homo* (Plaut.) : one
that in bragging manner stroweth up and down with
his armes a-canne-bow."

Anlace

Although this name for a medieval dagger has been
obsolete since c. 1500, its occurrence in Chaucer's
Prologue has made it familiar to modern readers, and
has led to various theories as to its origin. It is found,
as a picturesque revival, in Scott and Byron. Chaucer
uses it in his description of the Franklin :

> An anlaas (*var.* anelas) and a gipser [2] al of silk
> Heeng at his girdel. (Prologue, 1. 357.)

The Oxford Dictionary notes that it occurs several
times, Latinized as *anelacius*, in Matthew Paris (13th
century), finds " no traces of it in any continental
language," and defines it as " a short two-edged knife
or dagger, broad at the hilt and tapering to the point."
This definition seems to be due to J. R. Planché,

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[1] Cf. Dick Swiveller's *old min*, Mr. Mantalini's *demnition* and
vulgar American *kin* for *can*.
[2] Pouch, from Fr. *gibecière*, game-bag.

Somerset herald, whose History of British Costume was published in 1834. It is quite possible that antiquaries recognize the *anlace* under this description, but I take leave to doubt whether the medieval knight would do so.

Before discussing this point, or the Oxford Dictionary's statement as to the absence of the word from continental languages, it is interesting to see what earlier etymologists have to say. In Du Cange, we find, "*anelacius*: cultellus brevior, sica (Matth. Paris). Vox Chaucero familiaris. Ab anulo seu anello, quo ea sica vel ejusdem capulus insertus gestabatur, sic dictum suspicatur Carolus de Aquino [1] in Lex. Milit. Germanis *laz* olim latus significabat ; hinc *anelacius* Schiltero [2] est telum adlaterale."

The first suggestion is plausible, as a dagger might well be furnished with a suspensory ring, but it is negatived by the fact that the ending *-acius, -acia* is only used to form augmentatives or " pejoratives." An Old Fr. *anelas*, from *anel* (now *anneau*), could only mean a big ring. Schilter is quite right as to Lat. *latus*, side, having become *laz*, though the " Germani " have of course nothing to do with the word. *Laz* is Old Provençal,[3] and occurs in a passage which is curiously germane to our subject—

> Sanct Pedre sols veniiar lo vol ;
> Estrais lo fer que al laz og.[4]
> (Passion du Christ, 10th century).

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[1] The Italian Carlo d'Aquino, author of an unfinished Lexicon Militare (1724–7).

[2] Johann Schilter, German philologist († 1705).

[3] In Old French it is *lez*, whence the preposition *lès*, beside, near, in such place-names as *Plessis-lès-Tours*.

[4] Saint Peter alone wished to avenge him :
He drew the sword which he had at his side.

But, even supposing that from *al laz* could be formed an unrecorded Provençal noun *anelaz*, which is not possible, we should hardly expect to find a Provençal word current in English as early as Matthew Paris's " genus cultelli quod vulgariter anelacius dicitur."

Skinner, in his "Etymologicon vocum omnium antiquarum quæ usque a Wilhelmo Victore invaluerunt, et jam ante parentum ætatem in usu esse desierunt" (1671), includes *anelace*, with the remark, "Nescio an sic dictum a capulo annulis instructo." Most word-hunters of the 17th and 18th centuries also record it, but without attempting to solve its etymology.

I fancy that Chaucer himself analysed *anelas* as "on a lace." Of the Shipman he tells us:

> A daggere hangynge on a laas had he
> Aboute his nekke under his arm adoun (1. 392).

This etymology is also dubiously suggested by Skeat.

The true explanation is that Mid. Eng. *anelas* and Anglo-Lat. *anelacius* are metathetic forms of the quite common Old French word *alenas*, a dagger, of which Du Cange and Godefroy give examples from the 12th century onward. Metathesis of *l-n* is not uncommon, e.g. It. *alenare* and Old Fr. *alener*, to breathe, are from Vulgar Lat. *alenare*, for classical *an(h)elare*, to pant. Old Fr. *alenas* is an augmentative of Fr. *alène*, awl, just as *coutelas*, cutlas, is an augmentative of Old Fr. *coutel* (now *couteau*), knife. In Old French and Mid. English, as in other languages, the names of implements used for puncturing insensitive material were often applied to implements used for puncturing the human skin. We find both *bodkin* and *awl* in the sense of dagger. So also *puncheon* (now usually reduced to *punch*) and its French original *poinçon*.

Both Barbour and Wyntoun speak of Cæsar as stabbed to death with "puncheons," while early English writers generally use "bodkin" in reference to the same tragedy. It. *stiletto*, properly a small stilus or writing implement, is another example.

Fr. *alène* is from Old High Ger. *alansa, alesna*, a derivative of *āla* (now Ger. *ahle*), cogn. with our *awl*, Old Norse *alr*, Dutch *aal*, and ultimately related to the synonymous Sanskrit *ārā*.

In Du Cange will be found several other derivatives, e.g. "*cultellus allenalis:* pugiunculus, sica ad instar subulæ, nostris olim *alenas*," with an extract from a 14th-century regulation forbidding the carrying of these weapons at Marseilles. Godefroy gives the Old French forms *alenaz, alesnaz, aleinas*, with examples ranging from the 12th to the 15th century.

The etymology suggests that the *anlace* was not a bladed dagger with a fine point, but a tapering weapon of stiletto form, in fact an elongated awl. The medieval knight, in his metallic sheathing, was as impervious as a lobster. Even when he was completely "knocked out," his final elimination could only be accomplished by the help of a kind of tin-opener, usually called a miséricorde, or dagger of mercy. I suggest that the *alenas* was an improved miséricorde, of a strength and solidity suited to a special purpose. In a passage from Guillaume Guyart (1305) we read of a warrior, who, having laid his enemy low, proceeds to give the final touches :

> Un alenas en sa main
> Cherche des armeures l'estre
> Pour lui ocire et afiner.[1]

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[1] With an anlace in his hand he seeks the joint of the armour to kill him and finish him off.

The Oxford Dictionary also quotes, from the Aunturs of Arthur (c. 1420)—

> Opon his cheveroune beforn
> Stode as a unicorn
> Als scharpe as a thorn
> An nanlas [1] of stele—

evidently referring to the solid spike protruding from the metal frontlet of a medieval warhorse.

As the use of gunpowder became general, the fighting-man began to shed his panoply piece by piece, and the *anlace*, having outlived its usefulness, ceased to exist as the name of a specialized implement. The English metathesis of the Old French form was probably in some degree due, as suggested above, to folk-etymology.

Annoy

Professor Jespersen, discussing the differences between masculine and feminine instinct for vocabulary, says (Language, p. 247), " Where a man will say, ' He told an infernal lie,' a woman will rather say, ' He told a most dreadful fib.' " This sounds rather pre-War, not to say Victorian, but was certainly true once upon a time. Another example would be the obsolescent feminine " very annoying " as compared with the masculine " beastly nuisance." Words, like coins, lose their brightness and sharpness by circulation, and fresh terms are constantly being minted to express meanings which are no longer conveyed by older terms worn smooth by long usage. *Annoy*, now applied to the milder causes of irritation, was once a

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[1] Cf. *newt.* for *ewt.* or dialect *nawl* for *awl.*

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very strong word, but human love of exaggeration has emasculated it.[1]

Vulgar Lat. *inodiare*, from the phrase *in odio*, in hatred, gave Old Fr. *enoier, enuier*,[2] to distress, ill-treat, etc. French has kept the form *ennuyer*, gradually weakened to the sense of boring. Wyclif uses *annoy* instead of the "hurt nor destroy" of the Authorized Version (Isa. xi. 9), and Queen Elizabeth, in a privateering commission issued to her right trusty and well-beloved cousin the Earl of Cumberland, writes, "We licence our said cosyn to anoye the Kinge of Spaine and his subjects, and to burne, kill and slaye, as just and needefull cause shall require."

Colloquially *annoy* often became *noy*[3]:

> The single and peculiar life is bound,
> With all the strength and armour of the mind,
> To keep itself from noyance.
>
> (Hamlet, iii. 3.)

Wyclif has *noyful* (Ps. xxxvi. 2) for the *ad odium* of the Vulgate. This has perished, but we still have *noisome*, now usually of smells, but having in Biblical language a much wider sense, e.g. "The sword, and the famine, and the noisome beast" (Ezek. xiv. 21).

Even more striking than the weakening in sense of Fr. *ennuyer* and our *annoy* is that of Fr. *gêner*, to embarrass, inconvenience, which is Old Fr. *gehener*, to torture, put to the "question."

Avalanche

The account given of this word in most dictionaries is incorrect. Its present form is due to association

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[1] Cf. the current use of *awful*, lit. filled with holy dread, or Fr. *désolé*, sorry, lit. devastated.

[2] Cf. It. *annoiare*, Sp. *enojar*, which confirm the existence of the unrecorded Latin word.

[3] Cf. *prentice* for *apprentice*, *peal* for *appeal*, etc.

with Fr. *aval*, downward, from Lat. *ad vallem* ; but it is not derived from it. It is an Alpine word, ultimately from Lat. *labi*, to glide, slip, and has a large number of variants. One Swiss form, *lauwin*, whence Ger. *lawine*, represents Late Lat. *labina*, a land-slide. In Rhætian it is *lavina*. The form *lavenca*, found in Lombardy and Piedmont, supposes a Late Lat. *labinca*. In Provençal we find *lavanca*, which gave Fr. *lavanche*, *lavange*, the latter being Buffon's spelling. Cotgrave has " *lavanche de glace & de neige :* a great heape of snow tumbling from the top to the bottome of a hill and ouverthrowing whatsoever lyes in its way." It would be quite natural for *la lavanche* to be wrongly separated into *l'alavanche*, and for the latter, by association with *aval*, to become *avalanche*.

Something similar has happened in the case of *ammunition*, which is due to the wrong separation of *la munition*. Ménage (2nd ed., 1694) says, " Les soldats disent ' pain d'amonition,' mais les officiers disent ' pain de munition.' "

Battels

The older universities and the public schools are conservative institutions. It is archæologically, as well as physically, pleasant to be refreshed on a hot evening with a " stoup " of ale fetched from the " buttery." *Battels* is applied at Oxford to all expenses beyond tutor's fees. At Eton it was used in the 18th century of extras in the way of " tuck." At Winchester, pocket-money is still called *battlings*. The exact original sense of the Oxford *battels* is a matter of dispute, but it seems likely that the following definition is about correct : " *battil :* to grow fat or lusty ; whence most properly to battle

in the University of Oxford is taken for to run on to exceedings above the ordinary stint (= allowance) of the appointed commons '' (Phillips, New World of Words, 1678).

Battel or *battle* is a corruption of *batten*, a word which perhaps owes its survival in the speech of the fervent reformer to the fact that it rimes with *fatten*. It is especially used of those who invest their savings, more picturesquely described by Mr. Kirkwood, M.P., as '' the parasites who fatten on the toil of the worker like slugs on a cabbage.'' This quotation, if correctly reported, is interesting as being perhaps the first recorded example of a Socialist orator rejecting *batten* in favour of its more commonplace rime.

The origin of *batten* is Old Norse *batna*, to improve, get '' better,'' from the root *bat*, of which our *better* is a comparative. In English both *batten* and *battle* were used chiefly of feeding plentifully (transitive or intransitive), and especially applied to cattle—

> Battening our flocks with the fresh dews of night.
> (Lycidas, l. 29.)

A parallel to the sense and formation is Dan. *gjöde*, to fatten cattle, from *god*, good. The application to people is well exemplified by Cotgrave, who has '' *une fille bien advenue :* well proved, well growne, well come on, well prospered ; well batned, or batled.''

In the sense of '' tuck,'' the Oxford Dictionary has as early examples only Anglo-Latin quotations dating from 1557. A much earlier instance, from the Memorials of Fountains Abbey,[1] seems to show that the word was not originally restricted to university use. One day in 1447 Thomas Swynton, the monk

[1] Vol. 3, Surtees Society (1918).

who attended to most of the outside affairs of the Abbey, paid a business visit to Ripon, and there felt the need of reasonable liquid refreshment to the extent of 2½d. Consequently we find in his account-book, " In batell apud Ripon vidz in vino, iid. ob."

Blackmail

An interested foreigner, trying to glean from the daily Press some idea of " England, its people, polity, and pursuits," might be excused for coming to the conclusion that one of the chief interests of the more leisured class is *blackmail*, active or passive.[1] The word and the thing are now so common, that it is difficult to realize that the practice, at any rate in its most efficient form, is essentially a contemporary feature of social progress. The Oxford Dictionary's first quotation for *blackmail* in a sense approaching that now current is from Macaulay's essay on Clive. The definition, formulated in 1888, runs, " any payment extorted by intimidation or pressure, or levied by unprincipled officials, critics, journalists, etc., upon those whom they have it in their power to help or injure." If this definition were to be re-written in the light of the latest research, I imagine that the " officials, critics, and journalists " would take second place, and the " etc." would come into their own. The scale of the science has also been so intelligently enlarged that the trifling baksheesh with which the 19th-century blackmailer was satisfied would hardly pay the postal expenses of a modern operator. So far as the Oxford Dictionary records go, it

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[1] This article appeared in the Observer at a time when two amazing blackmail cases filled the greater part of the daily papers.

would seem that the practice of extorting money by the threat of damaging publicity was first developed in the United States. At any rate, the earliest quotation for the word *blackmailer* is from the New York Herald (1868). English travellers in the past have mostly used it in reference to the tribute levied by Arab sheikhs and other Eastern potentates for permission to pass through their territory unharmed.

There is a very considerable gap between the contemporary applications of the word and its earliest use as a respectable legal term. Like so much of our administrative vocabulary, *mail* is a viking word. It is found in various forms in all the Teutonic languages (Old Norse *māl*, Anglo-Sax. *mæthel*, Old High Ger. *mahal*, Goth. *mathl*), with the general idea of meeting, speech, agreement, contract, etc., and is copiously recorded in English, from the 11th century onward, in the sense of payment, tax, rent. But it has always been especially a North Country word, preserving its proper sense only in Scotland, where a rent-paying tenant is still in some districts a *mailer*.

There are also compounds descriptive of the type of tenancy, such as *grass-mail* and *land-mail*, or of the method of payment, such as *silver-mail* and *black-mail*. We do not know the original meaning of the latter. Camden conjectured that the *black* referred to copper coin, and the fact that we find *white-rent* used as equivalent to *silver-mail* lends some plausibility to this view. But the accepted legal sense of *black-mail* was, according to the Oxford Dictionary, " rent reserved in labour, produce, etc., as distinguished from *white-rents*, which were reserved in *white money*, or silver."

Such dues usually come to be regarded as oppressive

and extortionate, and the forbidding adjective *black* would not help to make the word popular. So it was adopted, no doubt by the victims, as the name for the tribute exacted from farmers and landholders by the freebooters of the Border and the Highland chiefs neighbouring on the Lowlands. The system was, compared with modern blackmailing, quite straight business. The bandit undertook, in consideration of an annual contribution, to guarantee the contributor against the exactions of all other bandits. If he failed to do so, he felt as humiliated as the Arab chief who allows travellers who have paid him for safe-conduct to be massacred by marauders trespassing on his territory. In other words, there was a *quid pro quo*, and the blackmailer did not adopt towards his public the " heads I win, tails you lose " policy of a modern trust or trade-union.

The contemporary currency of the word remains a problem. As a Highland industry *blackmail* died out after the Forty-five, and in England much earlier. Rose Bradwardine informed Waverley that not the boldest Highland cateran would " steal a hoof from anyone that pays blackmail to Vich Ian Vohr," and, in reply to his puzzled " And what is blackmail ? " gave him the classic definition of the term. But Scott, writing in 1829, found it necessary to add one of his historical Notes on the subject. It is possible that the revival of this archaic word was due, like that of so many others, to the popularity of the Waverley Novels. An alternative explanation is that the early Scottish adventurers who penetrated deeply into Asia applied their home-grown description to the exactions of the chiefs through whose territory they passed and of the officials they were obliged to bribe,

and thus preserved and handed on as a traveller's term a word which would otherwise have become obsolete.

Bloody

In Ballantyne's Coral Island, one of the characters is a repentant pirate called Bloody Bill. When, at the age of ten, I lent this treasured volume to a schoolfellow, it was returned with the peccant adjective carefully obliterated throughout by the blacklead pencil of an austere parent. In those days it would have been necessary to apologize for discussing the etymology of the dreadful word, monopolized, as it then was, by the rougher type of working-man. Even the policeman, giving evidence in court, used to testify delicately that the prisoner had "called him a b—— liar." There is a story, already ancient, of a toiler, who, left cold by the election poster "One man, one vote," was stirred to enthusiasm on hearing the explanation, "One bloody man, one bloody vote." Mr. Mencken, who serves up this chestnut in his American Language, quite ruins the effect by omitting the final réplique, "Then why don't it say so?"

Now that *bloody*, printed in full, has become a feature of the vocabulary of the best seller, whether dramatist, poet or novelist, there can be no objection to discussing its origin. The delusion that it is a corruption of *by'r Lady* [1] seems ineradicable. It crops up as regularly as the superstition that derives *cabal* from the initials of Charles II's five ministers, and has as little foundation in fact.

[1] An interjection very common in Shakespeare, in no way corresponding in use to *bloody*.

What we know about *bloody* is that in the oldest examples it is adverbial, corresponding to the *awfully*, *thundering*, *beastly*, of modern slang, and that up to about 1750 it was inoffensive, as, according to Mr. Mencken, it still is in the United States. Swift writes to Stella (May 29, 1714), " It was bloody hot walking to-day," and, in 1742, the blameless Richardson uses " bloody passionate " in Pamela. It is very common in English c. 1680 in the phrase "bloody drunk," which leads the Oxford Dictionary to suggest derivation from *blood*, in its Stuart sense of man of rank and fashion (cf. " drunk as a lord ").

It seems, at any rate, likely that some such association may have coloured its use at the period in question; but, if we compare the use of Fr. *sanglant*, Ger. *blutig*, and Dutch *bloedig*, we see that we merely have to do with an expletive instinctively chosen for its grisly and repellent sound and sense. In Dutch " een bloedige hoon " is a bitter insult, what could be called in French " un sanglant outrage." In Molière's Précieuses Ridicules Madelon describes the deception practised on herself and her cousin as " une sanglante pièce." Voltaire, in his Commentaire sur Corneille, writes, " La princesse Henriette joua un tour bien sanglant (a bloody trick !) à Corneille, quand elle le fit travailler à Bérénice," and the word is still used with *injure, reproche, outrage,* etc. If we go still farther back, we find, in a 14th-century report of a marital dispute, that " elle l'appela sanglant sourd et lui l'appela sanglante ordure." In 1270 the " viguier " of Béziers addressed recalcitrant tax-payers in terms which the chronicler renders in Latin as follows : " O rustici sanguinolenti, vos dabitis, velitis vel non."

German *blut* is still used as an intensive prefix, e.g.

blutarm means "miserably poor," and the archaic *blutdieb* might be rendered in robust English by "bloody thief." "Das ist mein blutiger ernst" is fairly polite German for "I seriously (Shavian *bloody-well*) mean what I say." So there is no need to build up fantastic theories in order to account for the word with which we are dealing.

The adverbial use, for *bloodily*, is due to an instinct which tends to drop -*ly* from a word already ending in -*y*. The oldest example of this instinct is the word *very*, which is the Old French adjective *verai* (now *vrai*). It is still occasionally an adjective, as in "the very thing," etc., and the adverb *verily* survives in Biblical English. But we should not speak of a "verily nice girl," though, unless we have been in America, we should speak of a "really nice girl" rather than of a "real nice girl." Thus we say "pretty well" not "prettily well," "jolly rich" not "jollily rich." It is obvious that, if the lady in Mr. G. B. Shaw's Pygmalion had used the logically correct "not bloodily likely" instead of the accepted "not bloody likely," her sparkling contribution to the dialogue would have suggested a sobriety test at the police-station. Similarly, Mr. Masefield's beautiful line, "I'll bloody burn his bloody ricks,"[1] would lose all its rhythm and much of its charm, if the correct adverb were substituted before "burn."

The earliest record in the Oxford Dictionary is "bloody drunk," from Etherege's Man of Mode (1676). There is an older example in John Marston's Faun (1606), in which a character is described as "cruelly eloquent and bluddily learned." Here we have the original adverbial form, while both date and context

[1] The Everlasting Mercy.

exclude the "drunk as a lord" theory. The use of *cruelly* in the same line, like our modern *awfully*, *frightfully*, etc., also helps to support my thesis.

Bourgeois

The Prime Minister (Mr. Stanley Baldwin) caused some amusement in the House one evening in February 1924 by commenting on the current use, in some circles, of the word *bourgeois* as an invective term. He suggested that its choice might be due to that predilection which democracy sometimes shows for abusive terms beginning with *b-*. Incidentally, he mentioned the fact that Mr. Jack Jones had in Russia been described by this hated name.

So far as I have observed, the depreciatory sense of *bourgeois* obtains in only three classes, which may roughly be said to inhabit the Beau-monde, Bohemia, and Bolshevia, i.e. the regions in which hard work is regarded with least enthusiasm. To these classes a *bourgeois* is, according to the exact point of view, a sinister or a comic figure. To the Beau-monde he is a person of inferior manners, to the Bohemian a narrow-minded philistine, to the Bolshevist an embryo capitalist. I have never heard a working-man, as distinct from a " Labour man," use the word.

There is, however, nothing sinister or comic about Les Bourgeois de Calais, immortalized in history, literature, and art, nor were the " burgesses " of London, champions of civic rights and founders of the British Empire, always figures of fun. When Corneille wishes to paint the dignity of a citizen of Rome, he makes Nicomède say :

> Ne savez-vous plus qu'il n'est princes ni rois
> Qu'elle daigne égaler à ses moindres bourgeois ?

Whence, then, comes the absurd sense now given to this ancient and dignified word by those advanced thinkers who borrow their political vocabulary from Moscow ? It is a curious history, with a moral to it. When, in the latter part of the 17th century, the French nobility abdicated its position and forsook its duties in order to dance attendance at the royal court, it naturally began to conceive a contempt for all that was plain, simple, and honest. So the word *bourgeois*, which suggested these qualities, fell on evil days. In Les Femmes Savantes, the idiot Bélise, who, if she had lived now, would be dividing her time between the Beau-monde, Bohemia and diluted Bolshevism, doubts whether there can be " un esprit composé d'atomes plus bourgeois " than her plain-spoken brother Chrysale. By the time of the Revolution the word had so completely lost caste that it had no chance at all against the synonymous " citoyen," when it became a question of selecting a name to replace that of " sujet du roi." Logically, the unhappy fate of *bourgeois*, the verbal victim of the " idle rich," should have excited the sympathy of the Republicans rather than their derision.

The next chapter in the history of the word was written by the young French writers and artists of the early 19th century, whose chief object in life was to " épater le bourgeois," i.e. to bewilder or shock the plain middle-class man, a pastime which is not without attraction for the young writers and artists of the early 20th century. Bohemia does not hate the Beau-monde—in fact, it sometimes feels flattered at being asked to appear in gilded halls—but it is merciless to the *bourgeois*, a being unworthy even, according to one of Coppée's old Bohemians, of the

guillotine, and who, in the next revolution, is to be put to death by means of "la machine à coups de pied dans le derrière."

The third and latest misuse of the word *bourgeois* belongs, if I may use a current imbecility, to the "class-conscious" vocabulary which advanced Labour has recently borrowed from Moscow, and which Moscow had borrowed, along with *proletariat*, from French Communism. And this reminds me that I have never heard a working-man utter the word *proletariat*.[1] It is not many years since I heard from an elderly labourer, in altercation with a better-dressed opponent, the withering remark, "You're no Englishman; you're only some damned sort of a foreigner." This crude, old, narrow-minded mentality somehow pleases me better than the borrowing of misunderstood foreign terms with which to assail one's fellow-countrymen.

The first word that the Roman soldiers picked up from the Teutons was *burg*, used in the sense of *castrum*, and later applied to the fortified town of which a castle was often the nucleus. It is very common in English (*borough, burgh, bury*), German (*burg*), and Dutch (*burg*). The Roman soldiers took it to Gaul as *boūrg*, and the earliest *bourgeois* were the sturdy class that threw off the yoke of villeinage and set up fortified cities secure from feudal tyranny. Sir Henry Hadow recently complained of the current use of many words with utter disregard to their original use. Surely there can be few examples more striking than the political misuse of *bourgeois*.

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[1] "'The wot?' exclaimed his father. 'The proletariat.' 'Wot's that?' 'You know. The workin' class.' 'Well, why the 'ell can't you say workin' class?'" (St. John G. Ervine, *Alice and a Family.*)

Burgee

The name of this flag, familiar to yachtsmen, is not recorded till 1848 by the Oxford Dictionary, which suggests no etymology. It has the appearance of belonging to the class of *marquee, Chinee,* etc., that is, of false singulars due to a word ending in a sibilant being mistaken for a plural. I had long been convinced of its connection with Fr. *bourgeois,* in its old sense of shipmaster, when a communication from Mr. Albert Matthews of Boston (U.S.) to Notes and Queries (Jan. 25, 1913) supplied the missing link.

Mr. Matthews gave two early quotations. The first, in a letter written (June 1653) from Flushing by Bishop John Bramhall to the Duke of Ormonde, runs, " By ill-luck or ill-messengers or both we have not had one single prize yet come into these parts since I came here. And our Dutch owners begin to be startled because Burgee's caution is required of their captains." This, though relating to nautical matters, has no connection with the modern sense of *burgee,* but it points to a form *burgese,* intermediate between the early Anglo-Norman *burgess* and the modern *bourgeois.* This is a form which we should expect to exist, *-ese* being the regular English equivalent of Old Fr. *-eis* (later *-ois, -ais*), e.g. Chinese, Portuguese, etc. *Burgee's caution* is evidently the equivalent of Fr. " *caution bourgeoise :* citie securitie, or securitie of rich, and resident citizens " (Cotgrave).

The second extract is from the Boston Post Boy of June 18, 1750 : " Thursday last, as Colonel William Rickets of Elizabeth-Town (New Jersey), with his wife and family, were going home from this city in

his own boat accompanied by some of his friends, they unfortunately left their burgee flying at their masthead, and on their coming abreast of His Majesty's ship Greyhound, then lying in the North River, a gun was fired from aboard her." Here we have the shipowner, flying his private flag, fired on by a king's ship for not " vailing " his colours as etiquette required. Fr. " *bourgeois d'un navire :* the owner of a ship " (Cotgrave), is well documented in French nautical language, and I am told that in the modern yachting world the *burgee* is run up when the owner comes on board. Evidently the flag was known at one time as the *burgese*, reduced to *burgee* in the same way as the popular *Chinee* for *Chinese*.

Codlin

The etymology of this name for a kind of apple is indicated by Bardsley, in his Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames (1901), but his article seems to have escaped the notice of etymologists. It was originally *cœur-de-lion*, a nickname given to the fruit, either from its hardness or from its being regarded as sound at the core. The etymology seems to be proved by the parallel history of the surname *Codlin, Codling.*

If we take this first, we find that *Cœur-de-lion* was a fairly common surname in the 13th and 14th centuries. I find *Ralph Quer de Lyun* in the Fine Rolls (temp. Henry III), *Robert Querdelioun* in the Close Rolls for 1329, and *William Querdelioun* living in London c. 1350 (City Letter-Books). By the middle of the 15th century the form assumed was *Querdling.* In 1433 *John Querdling* occupied a magisterial position in Norwich (Bardsley). Though the name has usually become *Codlin,* it is still found in Norfolk as *Quadling,*

Quodling. It has always been especially a Norfolk name.

Turning to the apple, we find that the earliest form (15th century) was *querdelynge* or *querdling.* Thus, in the earliest-known Latin-English Dictionary, the Promptorium Parvulorum, compiled in Norfolk in 1440 by a Norfolk man, we find *querdlyng appul,* explained by *duracenum,* a Med. Latin word from Lat. *duracinus,* hard (of fruit). Thus *Querdling* the name and *querdling* the fruit are recorded within a few years of each other and in the same region. In the 16th century the fruit is still, like the surname, *quodling,* and, although Shakespeare (Twelfth Night, i, 5) has *codling,* Bacon spells it *quadlin* in 1625.

After that *codlin(g)* prevails, a spelling partly due to association with *coddle,* to cook. Palsgrave (1530) defines the fruit as *pomme cuite,* Skinner (1678) as *pomum coctile.* The tradition is carried on by the dictionary-makers down to Johnson, who describes a *codlin* as " an apple generally coddled."

If we consider that the forms of the Norfolk surname and the Norfolk apple run parallel back to the middle of the 15th century, we may, I think, assume as a reasonable proposition that, if we had a 14th-century record for the apple, we should find it called a *quer de lion,* and that it was nicknamed from its hard heart, just as the *dandelion* (*dent de lion*) was named from its toothed leaves.

Collation

We usually think of a *collation* as cold, but sumptuous. Johnson defines a " cold collation " as " a treat less than a feast." In the Roman Catholic Church it is a light repast substituted for supper on fasting

days. Etymologically the word, Lat. *collatio, colla-tionem*, from *conferre, collat-,* to bring together, means a conference or comparison, as when we speak of collating texts or manuscripts. In Church Latin it took the special sense of discussion or homily, the latter meaning being stereotyped by the famous Collationes Patrum in Scetica Eremo Commorantium, Conferences of the Fathers dwelling in the Egyptian Desert, compiled by John Cassian (fl. c. 400).

The Rule of St. Benedict (c. 540), the foundation code of Western monasticism, prescribed the reading of such homilies before compline: " Mox ut surrexerint a cena, sedeant omnes in unum, et legat unus collationes, vel vitas patrum, aut certe aliquid quod edificet audien-tes." [1] Later the sense was extended to include the repast taken by the monks or nuns after the reading. Thus a sermon has become a meal.

The history of *chapter*, used of a corporate body, is somewhat similar. The earliest meaning of Fr. *chapitre*, Lat. *capitulum*, diminutive of *caput*, a head, is a section of a book, a sense which arises naturally from that of heading.[2] It was used especially of the divisions of the Bible. When the canons of a col-legiate or cathedral church, the monks of a monastery, or the knights of an order held formal meetings, the proceedings began with the reading of a chapter from their Rule or from the Scriptures. Thus the gathering itself became known as the *chapter*, and the room in which it was held was called the *chapter-house*, in French *la salle capitulaire*.

[1] " When they have risen from supper, let all sit down together, and let one read homilies, or lives of the fathers, or certainly some-thing calculated to edify the hearers."

[2] Cf. *capitulate*, to draw up an agreement under headings; *re-capitulate*, to run over the headings of a subject.

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Court

Rousseau, in his Discours sur l'Origine de l'Inéga-
lité parmi les Hommes, gives an ideal picture of
primitive man's happiness and then proclaims that
" le premier qui, ayant enclos un terrain, s'avisa de
dire : ' ceci est a moi,' et trouva des gens assez simples
pour le croire, fut le vrai fondateur de la société civile."
This is a good illustration of the well-recognized fact
that the crank is temperamentally unable to under-
stand human nature. When man ceased to be a
cave-dweller, his earliest instinct, next to the purely
physical impulses, was to put up a fence.[1]

This is attested by the fact that all the European
languages use the same word for an enclosure. Gr.
χόρτος, feeding-place for cattle, is identical with Lat.
hortus, a garden, originally any fenced enclosure.
The same word appears in the Teutonic languages as
Eng. *yard* (Anglo-Sax. *geard*), Old High Ger. *gart*, as in
Stuttgart, the stud field, Old Norse *garthr*, whence
provincial Eng. *garth* :

And I cried myself well-nigh blind, and all of an evening late
I climbed to the top of the garth and stood by the road at the gate.
                            (Tennyson, The Grandmother.)

It is also found in Celtic, e.g. Welsh *gardd*, and
Slavonic, the modern Russian form being *gorod*, as in
Novgorod, for the Old Slav. *grad'*, as in *Belgrade*
and *Petrograd*. Our *garden* comes from Old North Fr.
gardin (Fr. *jardin*), derived from Old High German.
It is now differentiated in sense from the native *yard*,

Etwas muss er sein eigen nennen,
Oder der mensch wird morden und brennen.
                                (Schiller.)

but the garden sense of the latter survives in *vine-yard* and *orchard*. It is uncertain whether Anglo-Sax. *ortgeard* is a by-form of *wyrtgeard*, i.e. wort-yard, or a reduplication formed from Late Lat. *ortus* (for *hortus*). All these words for enclosure probably belong to an Indo-European root meaning to grasp.

Latin had also, related to *hortus*, the compound *cohors, cohortem*, a poultry-yard, cattle-pen. It was characteristic of the Romans, originally a small rustic community, to use simple farming metaphor in their military organization. The *legio* was a gathering, from the verb *legere*, to gather, pick. The *cohorts* into which it was divided were perhaps called " yards " from their quadrangular shape, and the *manipulus* was a handful (*manus*, a hand, and *plēre*, to fill) or sheaf. But in works on agriculture *cohors* kept the old sense that passed into the Romance languages.

Vulgar Latin disliked imparisyllabics and could not pronounce an aspirate, so the classical *cohors, cohortem*, became *cortis, cortem*, and it is from the accusative, as usual, that Old Fr. *court*, now *cour*, is derived. The original sense of Lat. *cohors*, used by Varro of a poultry-yard, appears in Fr. " *basse-cour :* a backe court for the houshold, or houshold uses ; an inner yard, or barton, wherein poultrie is (or may be) kept " (Cotgrave). The front court of the château was the *cour d'honneur*.

The social progress of *cour* was roughly as follows. The sense of poultry-yard, cattle-pen, was extended to that of the whole rustic enclosure, homestead. This sense passed into that of princely domain, for, under the Merovingians, the residence of the local potentate was simply a farm. Exactly the same process is observed in Ger. *hof*, originally a yard, as

in *viehhof*, cattle-yard, later a homestead, *bauernhof*, and finally the royal dwelling. As it was at the ruler's residence that justice was administered, the development of the judicial sense of *cour* was inevitable, and the desirability of having "a friend at court" was early recognized:

> For freend in court ay better is
> Than peny in purs certis.
> (Romaunt of the Rose.)

Court passed on to English in the royal and juridical sense, also taking over the nobler senses of its cousin *yard*. A castle or college has a *court*, a farm or factory has a *yard*. In *court-yard* we have the not uncommon case of two synonymous words, ultimately related, formed into a compound.[1] It was in the 16th century that the verb to *court*, first used of busy assiduity about the great, began to supplant the good old word to *woo*. In the 18th century *engaged*, which suggests a busy official or a taxi, replaced *plighted* and *betrothed*. The 20th century has decided that *fiancé(e)*, variously pronounced, is a better word than *sweetheart*. Thus we vulgarize our language.

Craft

Carriage was originally the act of carrying, as *marriage* was the act of marrying. Via the sense of things carried and mode of carrying, it attained that of means of carrying, and, since the 17th century, has been used of a vehicle. This final metamorphosis was perhaps helped by its contemporary *caroch*, a coach (Fr. *carrosse*), to which *carriage* owes its limited

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Cf. one of the possible etymologies of *orchard* (p. 27).

and dignified sense ; for it is seldom used of a humble vehicle, but usually in reference to " carriage folk." I remember quite well how, when I was about five, the reading aloud of 1 Sam. xvii. 22—"And David left his carriage in the hand of the keeper of the carriage,"—called up before my listening mind the picture of a glorified cab-stand or livery-stable.

The same thing has happened to *conveyance*. We almost get the transition from mode to means in the account of Falstaff's escape in the buck-basket : " Your husband's here at hand ; bethink you of some conveyance ; in the house you cannot hide him " (Merry Wives, iii, 3). Fr. *voiture*, originally transport (Lat. *vectura*, from *vehere*, *vect-*, to convey), has gone through the same process. Rather different is the sense-development of *diligence*, a stage-coach. From the sense of general activity expressed by this word was evolved in French that of celerity, despatch : " Si vous me l'ordonnez, j'y cours en diligence " (Corneille, Polyeucte, iii, 1). A kind of express stage-coach, " voiture de diligence," introduced in the 18th century, was soon known simply as a *diligence*.

The modern use of *craft* for a boat, and in recent years for a flying-machine, is due to a similar ellipsis. *Craft*, power, strength, is a word common to the Teutonic languages.[1] In English only it developed the subsidiary sense of skill, either manual, as in *craftsman*, *handicraft*, or mental, as in *statecraft*, *witchcraft*, the latter often, as in *priestcraft*, with an unfavourable suggestion, due to the general degeneration of the word.[2] This degeneration begins very

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[1] Cf. Dutch *kracht*, Ger. *kraft*, Old Norse *kraptr*, all meaning strength.

[2] Cf. *artful*, *cunning*, *knowing*, all once complimentary.

early (c. 1200), but the original sense of power also persisted. In 1732 the Earl of Oxford, in a letter concerning the port of Yarmouth, wrote, " Three hundred ships of the small craft (as it is called) belong to this town " (Portland MSS.). With the ellipsis of the word *ships*, " small craft " came to be used for vessels of small power collectively, and it is especially in collocation with *small* that the noun is still used. A natural mental process resulted in *craft* being regarded as equivalent to a vessel, a sense which already appears in Falconer's Marine Dictionary (1769). The absence of a plural -*s* would not trouble sailors, accustomed to speak of " 20 sail," " 100 ton," etc.

Cuff

In the sense of a clout of the head, this word is recorded from the early 16th century. The Oxford Dictionary mentions as possibly related the German rogues' slang *kuffen*,[1] to thrash, and the Swedish *kuffa*, to thrust, push. But to *cuff* is neither to thrash nor to push. It has only the very limited sense of a blow, usually with the open hand, in the region of the head. If the hand is clenched, we have the expressive *fisticuff*. When Petruchio says to Katherine, " I swear I'll cuff you, if you strike again " (Taming of the Shrew, ii, 1), we can hardly imagine that he was contemplating a knuckle encounter with the lady. Similarly, when Queen Elizabeth, according to Camden, gave Essex a " cuffe on the ear," we may be sure

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[1] This word, first recorded as the noun *kuffe*, a blow, in Simplicissimus (1669), may even be from English. Plenty of adventurers from this country served in the Thirty Years War. As it belongs to *rotwelsch*, it is not likely to be of native origin.

that the flat of the hand was employed, for no in-furiated woman, not even the great Elizabeth, ever succeeded in clenching her fist.

But the original sense may have been to punch, pommel. Palsgrave (1530) has, " I cuffe one, I pomell hym about the heed : *je torche.*" The correspondence of Fr. *torcher*, lit. to wipe, suggests that *cuff* is one of the numerous semi-euphemistic terms for a blow, such as our elegant " wipe across the chops." We may compare Fr. *frotter*, to rub, but also " to cudgell, thwack, baste, or knock soundly " (Cotgrave), and Katherine's picturesque allusion to " combing the noddle " of a husband with a three-legged stool (Taming of the Shrew, i, 1).

There is a French verb which has exactly the sense required, viz. *coiffer*, to provide with head-gear, to dress the hair. This is often used in Old French of buffeting. Godefroy quotes from an Old French manuscript, " Je vos pingnerai, je vos donrei une coife," i.e. " I will comb your hair, I will give you a cuff." Cf. the synonymous *clout*, used in Hamlet of a kerchief or head-band (see quotation, p. 72). The French word passed into Flemish, in which *koffe* is recorded both for head-dress and buffet.

The change of vowel in English is difficult to explain. The word may have been illogically assimilated to the older *cuff*, part of the sleeve, or it may—which is likelier—have been affected by the synonymous, and also older, *buff*,[1] now replaced by *buffet*. The two words would naturally be coupled, as *buffe* and *coiffe* were in Old French, e.g. in the following 14th-century pas-sage : " Les assistans dirent que le dit Jehan gaignoit bien à avoir deux buffes ou coiffes," i.e. " The by-

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[1] Surviving in *rebuff*, lit. to strike back.

standers stated that the said John was all the better
for a couple of ' buffs ' or ' cuffs.' "

It is by no means impossible that the garment *cuff*
is also identical with *coif*, which may have developed
the sense of an arm-covering from that of a head-
covering. This *cuff* appears in Mid. English as *coffe*,
cuffe, with the sense of mitten or glove. The Med.
Latin form of *coif* was *cophia*, *coffia*, *cuphia*, *cuffia*, etc.
In the Life of Saint Radegonde by Venantius Fortu-
natus (fl. 6th century) occurs the enumeration
camisæ, *manicæ*, *cufiæ*, apparently shirts, sleeves,
cuffs !

Curtail

Some nautical humorist is responsible for the theory
that the dog-watch (two hours instead of four) is so
called because it is " cur-tailed." It is probable that
the idea of the shortened tail is often vaguely present
to the minds of some who use the word *curtail*, while
others perhaps connect it subconsciously with Fr.
court, short, and *tailler*, to cut. The word illustrates
three linguistic facts, viz. the unique power which
English has of making a noun into a verb (cf. to stone
a prophet, to floor a room, to gum an envelope, etc.),
the effect of folk-etymology in altering the older *-tal*
into *-tail*, and the doggy and horsey character of much
English metaphor. When we speak of " curtailing "
our expenses, or " docking " a man's salary, we are
using a figure of speech from the stable or the kennel.

Johnson gives a correct explanation of the word,
so far as it goes. He says, " It was anciently written
curtal, which is perhaps more proper ; but dogs that
had their tails cut, being called curtal dogs, the word
was vulgarly conceived to mean originally to cut the

tail, and was in time written according to that notion."
The examples he gives show the old accentuation on
the first syllable :

> I, that am curtail'd of all fair proportion,
> Deform'd, unfinish'd, sent before my time
> Into this breathing world.
>
> <div align="right">(Richard III, i, 1) ;</div>

> Then why should we ourselves abridge
> And curtail our own privilege ?
>
> <div align="right">(Hudibras.)</div>

Shakespeare uses *curtal* both for a " cut-tailed " dog
and a " bob-tailed " horse, and he has also the popular
perversion " cut-tail " (Merry Wives, iii, 4). This
corruption is recorded by Palsgrave (1530), who has
" *cut-tayled beest :* queue courte." He also has the
correct " *courtault :* a courtall, a horse."

From Lat. *curtus*, cut short, docked, Vulgar Latin
formed an intensive *curtaldus*, with a suffix which
always has a depreciatory or contemptuous sense (cf.
ribald, springald, etc.). This gave It. *cortaldo* and
Old Fr. *courtald*, of which the later form *courtaud* is
used, not only in the horse or dog sense, but also of a
short cannon (the oldest sense in English) and a
modified bassoon. In colloquial English the final
-d was lost, as in " Ol' Bill," and folk-etymology con-
verted the word into *curtail*.

Democracy

It was on April 2, 1917, that the late President
Wilson issued his decree that " the world must be
made safe for democracy." This having, presumably,
been accomplished, it may be of interest to trace the
history of the word and the related *demagogue*.

Gr. δῆμος, cognate with a Sanskrit root meaning divide, was originally the territory of a community. At Athens it was applied to a division of the tribe, and it was at Athens that δημοκρατία, people-rule, came into existence:

> Thence to the famous orators repair,
> Those ancient whose resistless eloquence
> Wielded at will that fierce democrity.
>
> (Par. R. iv, 268.)

There is naturally little trace of the word, or of *edmagogue*, in the Middle Ages. In fact, almost the only record of them before the Renaissance is in Nicole Oresme, a 14th-century French theologian and translator of Aristotle. It was not until the French Revolution that *democracy* ceased to be a mere literary word and became part of the political vocabulary. Wilkes suggested that *mobocracy* was a better description of the Revolutionary Government. Byron, in his Diary (1821), defined *democracy* as " an aristocracy of blackguards." With these views we may compare Daniel Webster's " people's government, made for the people, made by the people, and answerable to the people " (1830), and Lincoln's famous speech at Gettysburg (1863), in which he declared that " government of the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth." If we correct this enthusiasm with Dean Inge's remark that " there is a great deal to be said for democracy, but to worship it is a provincialism, and quite out-of-date," the subject may be regarded as exhausted.

Unlike δημοκρατία, which merely meant popular government, the related δημαγωγός was usually contemptuous, and had in Greek the sense of mob-

leader. Oresme has "*demagoges ι* gens qui par adulacion et flaterie meinent les populaires à leur volenté," but it was not till 1762 that the French Academy admitted *démagogue*, though Bossuet, in his Histoire des Variations des Églises Protestantes (1688), had written, "Je voudrais qu'il me fût permis d'employer le terme de 'démagogues'; c'était dans Athènes et dans les États populaires de la Grèce certains orateurs qui se rendaient tout puissants sur la populace en la flattant."

I have included this word because of the uncertainty of the date of its appearance in English. The first Oxford Dictionary record is 1648 (Eikon Basilike). Milton, in 1649 (Eikonoklastes), treats it as a "goblin word," and observes that "the King by his leave cannot coine Fnglish as he could money." This would seem to show that *demagogue* was unknown in English before the publication of Eikon Basilike. But Gilbert Cousin, at one time Erasmus's secretary, in connection with some "adagia" which he added to those of Erasmus (ed. of 1574), writes, "Angli dicunt 'demagog.' Est enim, si verbum de verbo reddas, populum trahere." If Cousin got this information from Erasmus, who spent many years in England, it would show that *demagogue* was in use c. 1500.[1]

Descry

Modern writers on the occult sometimes call a crystal-gazer a *scryer*, a name disinterred by psychical researchers from the works of the 16th-century charlatans, where it had slept undisturbed for two cen-

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[1] For a more elaborate statement see Notes and Queries, June 4, 1921

turies. One of the craft, Edward Kelly, " skryer " to the amazing Dr. Dee, has obtained a niche in the Dictionary of National Biography and the honour of a mention by Butler (Hudibras, II, iii, 235). There is no difficulty about the origin of the word. It is aphetic for *descry*, Old Fr. *descrier*, equivalent to *escrier* (now only in the reflexive *s'écrier*). English regularly drops the initial syllable of such words, e.g. *squire* for *esquire*, *stain* for *distain*, although the longer forms often persist as well.

That *ascry*, *escry*, *descry* are old words in our language is shown by the retention of the -s- sound, which, though sometimes preserved in spelling, became silent before another consonant in 13th-century French. Thus Old Fr. *descrier* has a later form *décrier*, which we have adopted as *decry*. Misled by the *de-*, we have gradually given to *decry* the sense of crying down, but its proper French meaning was to shout out, proclaim, and it was especially used in proclaiming the withdrawal of coin from circulation. It is easy to see how a word used in this connection would acquire the sense of disparaging, depreciating. This is shown by Cotgrave, who has, " *On le descrie comme la vieille monnoye :* he hath a verie bad report among the people ; his credit is wholly crack't, fame blemished, reputation lost."

Of the older forms, which, along with other meanings, retained always the original idea of crying out, proclaiming, we have kept only *descry*,[1] giving to it the meaning of discerning, detecting, " spotting."

[1] The prefix *des- dis-* was preferred in Mid. English, e.g. we have kept *dishevelled* (Old Fr. *deschevelé*) and rejected the *eschevelé* (now *échevelé*) which French has preserved.

To see how this arises naturally from the primitive, we have only to turn to the history of *explore*. Lat. *explorare* meant to spy out, reconnoitre; the *explorator* was not what we understand by an explorer, but an " espie or privie searcher " (Cooper). In the Vulgate we read, " Misit igitur Josue filius Nun de Setim duos viros exploratores in abscondito " (Josh. i. 2).

Explorare is a compound of *plorare*, to weep. We now think of weeping as a rather subdued expression of grief, but the Anglo-Sax. *wēpan* is derived from *wōp*, a sound imitative of loud outcry. The same is true of " crying," which modern restraint can effect noiselessly. The primitive sense of Lat. *plorare* was to bawl lustily,[1] and *explorare* meant " to bewayle with exclamation " (Cooper). The *explorator* announced by a shout the presence of the game or of the enemy. Festus, a 2nd-century Roman word-hunter, tells us, " Speculator ab exploratore hoc differt, quod speculator hostilia silentio perspicit, explorator pacata clamore cognoscit." The *speculator*, in fact, conducted himself like a pointer, the *explorator* like a fox-terrier.

The interesting semantic point is that the people who coined the Old Fr. *descrier*, *escrier*, to cry out, probably unacquainted with the Lat. *explorare* and certainly ignorant of its etymology, unconsciously reproduced after a thousand years the same mental process, by creating a verb, which, from the primitive sense of announcing by a shout, evolved that of detecting visually.

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[1] This was the original meaning of its French descendant *pleurer*, while *pleur*, now a poetic equivalent for *larme*, a tear, preserved the sense of wailing, lamentation, up to the 17th century. " Jeter des larmes sans pleur " is Old French for to weep silently

Shakespeare uses *descry* in the military sense more than once. Cf. also Milton :

> Others from the dawning hills
> Looked out, and scouts each coast light-armed scour,
> Each quarter, to descry the distant foe,
> Where lodged, or whither fled, or if for fight,
> In motion or in halt.
>
> (Par. L. vi, 529.)

In Anglo-French the form *escrier* is more usual. In 1327, when the young king Edward III was encamped near Durham, Sir James Douglas nearly succeeded in kidnapping him, but the watchmen of the host spotted him : " Mes le dit James Douglas fut escryé des gueites en l'ost et se mist a le fuite " (French Chronicle of London, c. 1350).

Dicker

In a book published in 1917, Mrs. Gertrude Atherton, the American novelist, makes a character say that, as a result of the holocaust of youth demanded by the War, " husbands will be too scarce to dicker about," meaning that young women will have to take what they can get, without haggling. I first heard the word from a leather-merchant of philological tastes, who asked me why a bundle of ten skins was called a *dicker*.

This simple trade-word takes us back to the days of Imperial Rome, when skins and furs were one of the chief objects of barter between Roman and barbarian. Moreover, in some cases tribute was paid in the same form, e.g. by the Frisians (Tacitus, Annals, iv, 72). The Latin name for a set of ten, *decuria*, from *decem*, ten, is used in the sense of ten hides in a letter

written by the Emperor Valerian, and, in various corrupted forms, it became the recognized unit of the trade in skins.[1] As an everyday word wherever Roman and northerner came in contact, it passed into all the Teutonic languages (cf. Ger. *decher*, Dan. *deger*). In Domesday Book it is used, in a barbarous Med. Latin form, for ten bars of iron, but the general association in English, as in Dutch, German, and Scandinavian, is with hides, and in this sense it is still current among those who have to do with leather.

The sense of haggling, bartering, swopping, developed in the United States. In Fenimore Cooper's Oak Openings or the Bee-hunter (1848) we read that " the white men who penetrated to the semi-wilds were always ready to dicker and swap," and, as these white men were mostly trappers and hunters in quest of pelts, it seems a reasonable inference that their use of the word reflected the fur-trade with the Indians. If so, it is a curious example of the continuity of word-history, that a term first used by the Roman in his mercantile dealings with the barbarian should, after twenty centuries, have started a new existence at the meeting-place of the settler and the savage in another hemisphere.

Disease

Our mental reaction to the sound of a word has little to do with its musical quality or its etymological meaning. It is almost entirely a question of association. There is hardly a more repellent word in English

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[1] A kind of parallel is furnished by *makuta*, the West African name for the " Angola penny." It originally meant bundle, and was applied to a package of ten palm-fibre mats, used as a unit of currency.

than *disease*, though it has no more intrinsic horror
in it than *discomfort*, which has become weakened just
as *disease* has become strengthened : " The abhomy-
nacioun of discomfort that is said of Danyel the
prophete " (Wyclif, Matt. xxiv. 15).

The history of *disease* illustrates the inevitable fate
of the euphemism, its gradual acquisition of a sense
more unpleasant than that of the older term which
it was intended to avoid. When we wish to describe
what is *nasty* or *dirty*, we forsake these old words,
once much stronger than now, and try to express our
feelings more fully with *disgusting* and *unsavoury*,
mere euphemisms which mean no more than dis-
tasteful. The extreme of human depravity is ex-
pressed in *infamous*, and any number of the most
desolating epithets can be coined by the use of that
amazing *un-* which we can prefix to nearly every
adjective in the language : " We have our profound
and powerful particle in our *undone, unloved, unfor-
given*, the *un-* that summons in order that it may
banish, and keeps the living word present to hear
sentence and denial " (Alice Meynell).

To return to the word *disease*, the Anglo-Saxon was
unaffectedly and unashamedly *sick*. Early Mid. Eng-
lish borrowed from Old Norse the word *ill*, with the
general sense of evil which it still has in " ill weeds
grow apace," " it's an ill wind that blows no one
good," etc. In the 15th century this began to com-
pete with *sick*, though it is not used in the Bible in
this sense, and in Shakespeare is usually semi-adverbial
(" to look ill," etc.). As the older *sick* came to denote
one particular symptom of bodily discomfort, it was
gradually expelled from the polite vocabulary in the
general sense of bad health, except in the literary

style, in the United States, and in such compounds
as *sick-list*. When a word expressive of mere indis-
position was needed, *disease* naturally presented itself.

It is an old word in English, having been borrowed
c. 1300 from Old Fr. *desaise*, and, as late as the 16th
century, it was still used in its etymological sense :
" Thy doughter is deed : why deseasest thou the
master eny further " (Tyndale, Mark v. 35). Where
we should now speak of being a little indisposed or
unwell, Wriothesley, in his Chronicle (1553), speaks
of Edward VI as " a little ' diseased ' from catching
cold." But, before the century was out, *disease* was
being used of dangerous maladies, and in 1602 Shake-
speare wrote :

> Diseases desperate grown,
> By desperate appliance are relieved.
>
> (Hamlet, iv. 3.)

So the 18th century, in search of a word to
describe a state of health for which *diseased* had
become, by association, too strong, introduced *unwell*,
already long familiar in Scotland and Ireland. It
appears that it was Lord Chesterfield who gave polite
currency to the new euphemism, so gracefully used
in our own times by Private Mulvaney : " ' Let me
out, bhoys,' sez I, backin' in among thim. ' I'm goin'
to be onwell ' " (With the Main-Guard).

Dock

This word is found in practically all European
languages, but is usually thought to have originated
in England. The earliest record in the Oxford Dic-
tionary is (1513) from Gavin Douglas's translation of

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the Æneid : " Lat every barge do prent hyr self a dok," where Virgil has—

<div align="center">

Inimicam findite rostris
Hanc terram sulcumque sibi premat ipsa carina.[1]

(Æn. x, 295.)

</div>

Here *dok* corresponds to the Lat. *sulcus*, furrow. This was the original meaning of the word. Cf. Captain John Smith's account (1626) : " A wet docke is any place where you may hale in a ship into the oze out of the tides way, where shee may docke her selfe." The word was also used of the hollow made on a shoal or mudbank by a ship that had accidentally grounded. Phineas Pett, constructor to the Navy temp. James I, describing such a mishap, writes (1613), " We caused an anchor to be laid right astern as her dock directed us." [2]

It would appear then that *dock* may be identical with dialect Eng. *doke*, hollow, furrow, and Norw. *dokk*, hollow. But there is also an archaic Low Ger. *docke*, runnel, gutter, so it is possible that our word originated in one of the German ports of the North Sea or the Baltic. At any rate it was known to the German Hanse merchants as early as 1436. It is also much older in English than the Oxford Dictionary records. A volume of Naval Accounts and Inventories (1495–7), published by the Navy Records Society, contains much information about the royal *dock* constructed at Portsmouth by Henry VII, perhaps the first *dock* in the current sense of the

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[1] Cleave this hostile land with your prows and let the keel press for itself a furrow.

[2] This modernized spelling is the most regrettable practice of the Navy Records Society.

word. According to the editor of the volume, *dock* is found in 1434 applied to the bed made in the mud by a vessel when beached. This hollow was fenced round while repairs were in progress, so that the modern dock is a costly and permanent structure replacing a much more primitive contrivance.

This familiar linguistic process, viz. the change in the connotation of a word as the object or action indicated becomes more elaborate, is also illustrated by *graving dock*, for earlier *graving beach*. To *grave* is to clean away all accretions from a ship's bottom as she lies ashore or in dry dock. It is derived from archaic Fr. *grave*, beach, now usually *grève*. In French such a process was called *œuvres de marée*, lit. tide works, because hurriedly carried out as the vessel lay high and dry between tides.

Another early name for *graving* was *breaming*. This was done by singeing the ship's bottom with burning furze, broom, etc., and the word is derived from Dutch *brem*, broom. In the same way It. *bruscare*, to bream, is derived from *brusca*, broom, heather.

⸰ Fellow

There is a legend of an ardent democrat, who, proclaiming from the platform that " one man is as good as another," elicited from his audience, along with an approving cheer, the enthusiastic addition, " Yus, and better too." This legend contains a great psychological truth. In very stressful times the democratic formula, " Sois mon frère, ou je te tue," may enforce a temporary external recognition of equality and fraternity, if not of liberty, but the innate snobbishness of man remains unchanged.

On that tragic occasion when Mr. Pickwick and Mr. Tupman nearly came to blows, the final exasperation of both was aroused by the epithet *fellow*. Even the genial Sam Weller became bellicose when " a indiwidual in company " called him a " feller." If the difference of spelling means anything, we may conclude that Messrs. Pickwick and Tupman used the pedantic pronunciation now taught at school, while Sam Weller still spoke the educated English of the 18th century:

> Worth makes the man and want of it the fellow.
> The rest is all but leather or prunella.
>
> (Pope.)

It was by the operation of that familiarity which breeds contempt that a word originally indicating equality and mutual helpfulness acquired for a time the sense of inferior. *Fellow* is Old Norse *fēlage*, from *fēlag*, partnership, made up from *fee*, in its original sense of wealth, cattle, and the root of the verb to *lay*. In early use it implied friendly association, like that good old word *mate*, now replaced in Socialist jargon by the absurd *comrade*.

The contemptuous use of *fellow* arose in the Middle Ages from the practice of addressing servants in this kindly fashion, just as Frenchmen of the old school use *mon ami* to their social inferiors. The accompanying touch of condescension gradually came to carry an offensive implication, and, by the time of Shakespeare and the Authorized Version, *fellow*, especially when used alone, was generally scornful. It might almost be said that it became two words, one preserving the original sense, which survives in the " goodly fellowship of the prophets," *fellow-feeling*, *Robin Goodfellow*, *schoolfellow*, " hail fellow well met,"

the other used vaguely for " chap," with an under-
tone of condescension or contempt.

Something of the same kind happened to *com-
panion*, lit. bread-sharer, messmate, which has
now recovered its dignity. " Scurvy companion "
was a stock term of abuse from Shakespeare to Smol-
lett. In fact, *fellow* and *companion* formed for many
centuries one of those pairs of words, one native the
other French, so numerous in our language. A
" good fellow " was a " boon companion " (Fr. *bon
compagnon*), and either word could be used to express
one of a pair.

The Authorized Version uses *fellow* and *companion*
indifferently (e.g. Judges xi. 37, 38), and, in the New
Testament, such compounds as *fellow-citizen, -heir,
-helper*, etc., are very numerous. Here *fellow* repre-
sents the Greek συν-, together, e.g. συνδοῦλος, fellow-
servant (Matt. xviii. 28). Where *fellow* is used con-
temptuously by itself, there is as a rule no corre-
sponding noun in the Greek or the Vulgate. The
Greek for " this fellow " is simply οὗτος, while the
Vulgate reads, " Hic non ejicit dæmones nisi in Beelze-
bub principe dæmoniorum " (Matt. xii. 24). The
Revised Version substitutes " this man," while most
continental translations follow the original in using
simply a demonstrative pronoun.

Gazetteer

There are a few books without which a house is
uninhabitable. One of these is a good *gazetteer*. The
history of the word starts at Venice, which had a
copper coin of very small value called a *gazzetta*. It
was at Venice also, about the middle of the 16th cen-

tury, that the first *gazzette* were published, those small, ill-printed news-sheets from which the modern daily Press has been evolved. Florio (1611) has " *gazzette :* running reports, daily newes, idle intelligences, or flim-flam tales that are daily written from Italie, namely (= especially) from Rome and Venice."

There is also a Venetian *gazzetta*, diminutive of *gazza*, a magpie. The relationship of the three seems to be that the coin was named from the bird, and that the news-sheet was either sold, or, more probably, allowed to be read, for and in consideration of the payment of one *gazzetta*. There is no unlikelihood in the theory of the bird becoming a coin. In slang English a halfpenny is a *mag*, and the *rap* that we don't care (an Irish counterfeit halfpenny of the early 18th century) apparently took its name from a German bad *pfennig*, bearing an unsuccessful eagle, which was derisively called a *rabe*,[1] i.e. raven. Another theory is that the news-sheet was called a magpie from its chatter.

However that may be, the word *gazette* reached England c. 1600 in the sense of news-sheet, and soon became one of the regular names for the periodic Press. In 1665 appeared the first official journal published in England, now known as the London Gazette. A young officer is " gazetted," when the announcement of his appointment appears in the Gazette, while a business man " in the Gazette " is a bankrupt. The first number of this periodical was called the Oxford Gazette, because it was published there in November

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[1] *Rap* represents the Upper German form *rappe*, now used only of a black horse. It was probably brought from Germany by Irish soldiers of fortune. *Rappen* is still used in Switzerland of a small coin.

1665, Charles II and his court having (as we should expect them to do) fled from the Plague. Pepys (Nov. 22, 1665) notes that "this day the first of the Oxford gazettes came out, which is very pretty, full of newes."

The earlier *gazettes* were mostly concerned with continental war-news. Blount, in the preface to his Glossographia or Dictionary of Hard Words (1656), tells us, " In every Mercurius, Coranto, Gazet or Diurnal, I met with camisados, pallizados, lantspezados, brigades, squadrons, curassiers, bonemines, halts, junctas, paroles, etc." Thus came into existence a new profession, that of the *gazetteer*,[1] or journalist, a title for which unkind printers or ill-wishers to journalism soon found the variant *garreteer*. In Donne's panegyric verses prefixed to Coryat's Crudities (1611) occurs the ironical line, " As deep a statesman as a gazetteer," in which, when reprinted in his Poems (1650), *garreteer* was substituted. In fact, the earliest mentions of the craft are mostly allusive to journalistic ignorance. This was perhaps what led Lawrence Eachard to publish (c. 1690) a pocket-volume, " partly design'd for all such as frequent coffee-houses, and other places for news," to which he gave the title, The Gazetteer's or Newsman's Interpreter, a Geographical Index, now known, along with all its offspring and imitations, simply as The Gazetteer.

Gossamer

Some words seem to be the natural inheritance of the poet. *Gossamer* is still used in its literal sense, but our prosaic age inclines rather to *cobweb*, leaving

[1] Also called a *mercurist*.

gossamer to express the airily impalpable and iridescent :

> Calm and deep peace on this high wold,
>   And on these dews that drench the furze,
>   And all the silvery gossamers
> That twinkle into green and gold.
>
> (In Memoriam, xi.)

It has, in fact, always been a poetic word, from Chaucer to the present day.

Like other poetic words, it has been seized on by the tradesman in search of an effective symbol for lightness. An obsolete London slang name for a hat was *goss*. The Oxford Dictionary has no record of it after 1848, but Hotten's Slang Dictionary (1864) has the entry "*goss :* a hat ; from gossamer silk with which modern hats are made," and I remember it quite well as in general use among London schoolboys, c. 1875. Mr. Sam Weller knew it in the longer form : "Afore the brim went, it was a werry handsome tile. Hows'ever it's lighter without it, that's one thing, and every hole lets in some air, that's another—wentilation gossamer I calls it " (Pickwick, ch. xii).

It is probable that, before being applied to the threads spun by immature spiders, *gossamer* was used of the season of the year, a warm spell in autumn during which it is chiefly seen. The original name seems to have been *goose-summer*, about equivalent to the "St. Martin's summer" which we have borrowed from French, and referring to the fact that geese are then in season, so that the origin of our pretty word is decidedly prosaic. The same might be said of *butterfly*, which suggests all that is bright-hued, dainty, and graceful, but which, when analysed into its com-

ponent parts, has no more inherent poetry than *cheese-mite*.

In German both the season and the filaments are called *mädchensommer* (maiden-summer) and *altwei-bersommer* (old wives' summer). Dutch *kraanzomer* substitutes the crane for the goose, probably because flocks of cranes were seen flying south in autumn. Other fanciful names are Dutch *zomerdraden* and Ger. *sommerfaden* (summer threads), also Dutch *herfst-draden* (autumn threads), and, prettiest of all, Fr. *fils de la Vierge*, the Virgin's threads.

Groundsel

In a paper read to the Philological Society some years ago I pointed out that *comfrey*, Old Fr. *confirie* (also Med. Lat. *cumfiria*), must be derived from Old Fr. *firie*, liver,[1] the name alluding to the congealing qualities of the plant used as a poultice. In Latin and Med. Latin it is called by various names indicative of this property, e.g. *conserva*, *confirma*, *conferva*, and, especially, *consolida*. From the last of these are derived many names in the European languages, e.g. Fr. *consoude*[2] (cf. *souder*, to weld, solder), Sp. *suelda* or *consuelda*, Old High Ger. *cunsele*. The botanical name *symphytum* (= growing together) *officinale* is of the same type, also its popular name in Modern German, viz. *beinwell*, i.e. bone-welder. It need not be said

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[1] For the idea cf. Mid. High Ger. *liberen*, to congeal, lit. to become liver-like, and Anglo-Sax. *lifrig*, clotted. Old Fr. *firie*, liver, Mod. Fr. *foie*, liver, and *figer*, to congeal, are all related to each other, though their etymology is too complicated for discussion here.

[2] Hence archaic Eng. *consound*, perhaps with a leaning on *sound*, healthy.

that very many plants are named from their medicinal and healing properties.

No gardener familiar with the prolific and accursed *groundsel* will be surprised to find that in the 10th century the Anglo-Saxons called it *grundeswelge*, i.e. ground-swallower. But this appears to be an early agricultural perversion of an older name, recorded in the 7th century as *gundeswilge*. The first element of this is *gund*,[1] pus, discharge from a wound, and the name is evidently taken as meaning pus-absorber. A poultice made of chopped groundsel is still a common rustic remedy.

But the form *gundeswilge* is apparently also a product of folk-etymology, and the Anglo-Saxon name is simply borrowed from Lat. *consolida*, which was not only used of comfrey, but was applied by early herbalists to all wound-healing plants. Mod. Ger. *günsel*, comfrey, bugle, is regarded by Kluge as a quite modern deformation of *consolida*, but must surely be the descendant of the Old High German form *cunsele*, and thus parallel to the Anglo-Saxon name.

Gules [2]

The heraldic name for red is, like the rest of the language of heraldry, of French origin. Fr. *gueules*, recorded from the 13th century, is the name of one of the six colours. It is the plural of *gueule*, throat,[3]

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[1] This survives in *red-gum*, a skin eruption, which is folk-etymology for Mid. Eng. *radegound*.

[2] For the full history of this word see Nyrop, in Romania (Oct. 1922).

[3] An alternative, and generally received, origin from Pers. *gul*, rose, is quite out of the question.

Lat. *gula*, and has been vaguely explained as depicting the colour of the open throat of an heraldic beast.

The true explanation is quite different. *Gueules* was the name of a fur before it became a colour in heraldry, and its name was due to the fact that it was taken from the throat of the marten. We know that medieval furriers sometimes distinguished their wares according to the part of the animal from which the skin was taken. Thus *shanks* was in Mid. English a common name for fur taken from the legs of kids. John Perfay, draper, of Bury St. Edmunds, who died in 1509, bequeathed to his son-in-law his " tawny gown furryd with shankys."

As is often the case, the older etymologists were nearer the truth than the moderns. Littré calls attention to Du Cange's identification of the word with Med. Lat. *gulæ*, fur collar or edging, generally dyed red. This sense, well-attested both for the Latin and French forms, led some early etymologists to explain the name erroneously from the fact of the fur being sometimes worn round the human throat. Ger. *kehle*, lit. gullet, was used in Old and Mid. High German in the same senses, i.e. of a fur and an heraldic colour, always in the plural, and accompanied by the adjective *rot*, red. The same applies to Dutch *keel*. In both languages this is probably due to translation from Fr. *gueules*.

It is natural for the name of a fur to become a colour in heraldry. The same thing has happened in the case of *ermine*, *vair*, and *sable*. The last word furnishes, in its history, a partial parallel to that of *gules*. It is of Slavonic origin, the Russian name of the animal being *sobol*. The fur is usually a darkish brown. In the Middle Ages it was dyed black, so as

to form an effective contrast with ermine. In the same way the throat-fur (*gueule*) of the marten, naturally tawny or russet, was dyed bright red.

Haphazard

The Oxford Dictionary explains this compound, recorded from Tudor times, as a collocation of the archaic *hap*, chance, luck (whence *happen*, *happy*[1]), and the synonymous *hazard*, thus lit. "hazard of chance." This is an etymology readily accepted without examination, but, when tested, it becomes improbable or impossible. Why should two familiar and synonymous words be put together in this unusual way? We have such compounds as *pea-jacket*, in which an explanatory word has been added to the obsolete *pee*, a jacket, or *shrew mouse*, coined when the zoological sense of the simple *shrew* was somewhat obscured by its figurative application. But these formations belong to quite a different category. I know of no parallel to the meaningless duplication of an abstract term.

The earliest record for *haphazard* is its use as the name of a character in an old play, Appius and Virginia (1575). It seems to belong to that interesting class of nicknames, compounded of a verb and its object, to which we owe about two hundred existing surnames,[2] among them the most famous of English names, i.e. Shakespeare. Such names can be counted

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[1] The older sense of luck, chance, survives in *haply*, *happily*, *happy thought*, etc. Pepys says, ' Prince Rupert, I hear, is to go this day to command this fleet going to Guinea against the Dutch. I doubt few will be pleased with his going, being accounted an unhappy man " (Aug. 31, 1664).

[2] See my Surnames, ch. xii.

by thousands in the Middle Ages, and, if *Haphazard*
was thus used in a 16th-century play, no doubt it was
already some centuries old.

There is an obsolete verb *hap*, to grab, from Fr.
" *happer* : to hap, or catch ; to snatch or graspe at "
(Cotgrave). It is possible that it survives in the
name *Hapgood*, which would then be a little stronger
than *Gathergood*,[1] while both contrast with *Scattergood*.

Fr. *happer* belongs to the group of *gripper*, *pincer*,
etc., from which are formed many colloquial com-
pounds descriptive of character, such as " *happe-
lopin* : a catch-bit, sycophant, smell-feast " (Cot-
grave) ; " *grippeminaud* : a griping, catching, greedie,
covetous, cruell fellow " (ibid.) ; " *pince-maille* : a pinch-
penie, scrapegood, niggard, miser, penie-father " (ibid.).
With these we may compare such 13th-century English
nicknames as *Cachemaille* (Old Fr. *maille* was a small
coin), *Cachepeny*, *Gripchese*, *Pinchepeny*. I have no
doubt that *hap-hazard* originally meant " grab-chance."
To " hap the hazard " would be exactly equivalent
to Lat. *occasionem capere* and Fr. *attraper la chance*.

The phrase " at haphazard " came into existence
in the same way as its German equivalent " auf's
geratewohl," lit. at chance well, from the verb *geraten*,
to chance, succeed. This has given the German sur-
name *Geratwol*, *Grothwohl*, etc. Its formation from
verb and adverb is paralleled in English by such
names as *Golightly*, *Rideout*, *Saywell*, *Walklate*.

Henchman

In English a *henchman* is usually the stalwart and
trusty right-hand man of the hero or villain in romantic

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[1] In these names *good* = wealth, property.

narrative. Not infrequently he has the bow legs which are the unfortunate concomitant of unusual physical strength. In the United States he is, according to the Century Dictionary, " a mercenary adherent ; a venal follower ; one who holds himself at the bidding of another." In the Middle Ages he was a horse-groom. There is a gap of about two centuries in his history. When a word belonging to the romantic or picturesque vocabulary offers a chronological puzzle of this kind, the answer is usually Scott.

Hengest-man, with a number of variant forms,[1] is copiously recorded in Mid. English in a sense which it is now impossible to define exactly ; but, as it comes from Anglo-Sax- *hengest*,[2] a stallion, the *hengest-man*, like the marshal and the constable, probably started as a groom and gradually rose in the world. In 1530 Palsgrave equates *henchman* with *page d'honneur* and *enfant d'honneur*, evidently a youth of high rank. The corps of " royal henchmen," also called " children of honour," was dissolved by Queen Elizabeth in 1565, with the result that the word soon died out.

In 1810 Scott revived it in the Lady of the Lake (ii, 35), a footnote explaining that " a henchman was the confidential attendant or gilly of a chief. His standing behind his lord at festivals originated the name of haunchman or henchman." Four years later, in Waverley (ch. xvi), Evan Dhu, describing to the hero of the novel the glories of his chieftain's state, begins the enumeration of the retinue with his " haunchman or right-hand man." In the form

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[1] Such as Hensman, Hinxman, Hinksman, surviving as modern surnames.

[2] A word common to the Teutonic language ; cf. Dutch and Ger. *hengst*. It was also the war-name of a famous Jutish invader.

henchman it at once became a popular word with romantic poets and novelists. The question arises, what is the connection between this *haunch-man*, which in Scottish would be pronounced *hainchman*, *hencheman*, and the medieval *hengest-man*, the ancestor of the Tudor *henchman* ?

There is a link, though a weak and dubious one, between Queen Elizabeth and Scott. During the years 1724–35, Major-General Wade was policing the Highlands and building military roads across the hills :

> Had you seen but these roads before they were made,
> You would hold up your hands and bless General Wade.

He had with him in his employ, in a civil capacity, Mr. Edward Burt, who recorded his impressions of the Highlands in Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland.[1] It was from this book that Scott obtained much of his Highland local colour, for, as a Lowlander or Borderer, he had no great first-hand knowledge of Gaelic matters. There is little doubt that it was his source for *henchman*. Burt gives a full account of the *hanchman*, " ready on all occasions to venture his life in defence of his master ; and at drinking-bouts he stands behind his seat, at his haunch, from whence his title is derived." There is no other authority for *hanchman* in the sense of Highland gilly, and it almost looks as if Burt invented the word, misunderstood his informant, or had his leg pulled by some young officer more familiar with Highland

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[1] Not published till 1754, but evidently written about thirty years earlier. Referred to by Scott, in his preface to Waverley, as " the curious ' Letters from the Highlands,' published about 1726."

matters.   For it can hardly be supposed that an Eng-
lish word, obsolete soon after 1600, would bob up
suddenly among the Scotch mountains with a new
sense and a fanciful etymology.

My own opinion is that Scott, who knew Tudor and
Stuart literature inside out, jumped to the conclusion
that Burt's *hanchman* was identical with the Shake-
spearean *henchman*—

> Why should Titania cross her Oberon ?
> I do but beg a little changeling boy
> To be my henchman.[1]
> > (Midsummer Night's Dream, ii, 1)—

and believed that the latter, whose medieval history
and early disappearance did not come within his
knowledge, was veritably a *haunch-man.*

Hustings

Elections lost a good deal of their savour when,
after the Ballot Act of 1872, the Honourable Samuel
Slumkey and Horatio Fizkin, Esquire, ceased to
appear on the *hustings* for the purpose of being nomin-
ated, of addressing the free and enlightened, and
incidentally, of receiving the missile compliments of
friend and foe.   It is true that such contemporary
improvements as razor-slashing or the kicking of
ladies had not yet been introduced into our political
life ;   but the *hustings* scrimmages, though lacking
this " international " flavour, were lively and inter-
esting.

The Anglo-Saxons, a beefy, beery race, had little
political initiative, and borrowed much of their ad-
ministrative vocabulary from the Vikings.   The word

[1] The only occurrence of the word in Shakespeare.

law itself is Old Norse. The Old Norse *hūs-thing*, house thing, was an assembly formed of the immediate followers of a monarch or noble called together in council. It thus was contrasted with the *folc-gemōt*, or folk-moot. This sense of *thing*, which is connected with the verb to *think*, survives in the Danish *Storting*, or Parliament, originally *stor thing*, strong council; also in our *Tynwald*, *Dingwall*, etc., meaning " assembly field " and pointing to a Scandinavian settlement. We even find the word in Bucks, where *Fingest* is for older *Thing hyrst*, assembly hill.

Under the Danish kings Sweyn and Canute the name *husting* was applied to a court held in the Guildhall of London by the Lord Mayor, Recorder and Sheriffs. The following passage, from the Liber Albus, explains its functions : " Touz les terres et tenementz, rentes et services, deinz la citee de Londres et les suburbes dicelle, sont pledables a la Guyhalle deinz mesme la citee en deux Hustenges dont lun Hustenge est appellee Hustenge de Plee de Terre, et lautre Hustenge est appellee Hustenge des Comunes Plees ; et les queles Hustenges sont tenuz en la dite Guyhalle devaunt les Maire et Viscontz de mesme la citee chescune semaigne, les jours de Lundy et Marsdy." [1]

This supreme tribunal for the City of London, which still sits occasionally in connection with gifts to the City, met on a platform at the upper end of

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[1] All the lands and tenements, rents and services, in the City of London and the suburbs of the same, are pleadable at the Guildhall in the same City at two Hustings, of which one Husting is called Husting of Land Plea and the other Husting is called Husting of Common Pleas, which Hustings are held in the said Guildhall before the Mayor and Sheriffs of the same City every week, on Monday and Tuesday.

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the Guildhall. By an easy and natural transition, the name *husting* was applied to this platform in particular and later on to other platforms. Its use, always in the plural, for the election platform, dates from c. 1700.

Jumper

Feminine costume has in modern times shown a tendency to appropriate some of the less ceremonial garments belonging to the inferior sex. In the early eighties of last century George Du Maurier contributed to Punch a drawing which appeared at first sight to depict a scene of regrettable marital violence, but which, on closer examination, showed the mildest and most devoted of husbands assisting his wife to divest herself of her *jersey*,[1] an article of clothing then recently copied from the footballer, who had borrowed it from the fisherman.

I do not know exactly at what date the *blouse* succeeded the *jersey*. Its proper sense in French is a workman's upper garment, and it is sometimes used symbolically of the proletariat as contrasted with the black-coated bourgeoisie. It is curious that, although the word came into use as recently as the latter part of the 18th century, its origin is quite unknown.

Much earlier is the female assumption of the *petticoat*, which, in the Middle Ages, was, as its name implies, a little coat, i.e. a kind of waistcoat worn under the doublet or armour. Shakespeare is our first clear authority for its use as the name of a

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[1] So called because originally knitted in Jersey, an island without sheep. The football use may have originated at Rugby (see Tom Brown's Schooldays).

woman's under-garment and as an emblem of the sex. When, after Tewkesbury, Prince Edward's defiance of the King moves Queen Margaret to wish that his father " had been so resolved," Gloucester retorts :

> That you might still have worn the petticoat
> And ne'er have stolen the breech from Lancaster.
> <div align="right">(3 Henry VI, v, 5.)</div>

The latest male garment annexed by the other sex is the *jumper*. The name has been applied, since the middle of the 19th century, to a kind of heavy jersey favoured by polar explorers, sailors, and gold-diggers. It is a nautical elaboration of *jump*, a short coat worn in the 17th century, especially by Presbyterians. This name was also given to a kind of bodice, sometimes called a " pair of jumps." The word is duly registered by Johnson and defined as " a waistcoat ; a kind of loose and limber stays worn by sickly ladies." It is still in dialect use.

Jump appears to have been nasalized, under the illogical influence of folk-etymology, from the earlier *jup, juppe*, which is Fr. *jupe*. This French word, now meaning skirt, was used in Old French of various male garments. Like many other French words now lost to our language (cf. *garçon*, p. 154), *jupe* was quite familiar in Mid. English. It was the name of an under-tunic or smock worn by men. It was also borrowed by German in the forms *juppe, joppe*, explained by Ludwig (1716) as " a jupo, jacket or jump."

The origin of the French word is historically interesting. The Crusaders, half-cooked in their metal casing, borrowed from the Arabs the cotton *jubbah*, which, in the form *jibbah*, is now familiar in English books describing Eastern scenes or the habits of the

strong, silent sheikh. The popularity of the garment is attested by its adoption in all the Romance languages; with Fr. *jupe* cf. It. *giubba* and Sp. *aljuba*, " a Moorish cassocke or frocke " (Minsheu, 1599), the Spanish form retaining the Arabic definite article. In all the Romance languages we also find the diminutive form, represented in French by *jupon*, a petticoat. This was in the Middle Ages both a light surcoat worn over armour and a rough or padded garment worn under armour. Chaucer says of the Knight:

> For to tellen yow of his array,
> His hors weren goode, but he ne was nat gay ;
> Of fustian he wered a gypon (*var.* jopoun)
> Al bismotered with his habergeon,
> For he was late y-come from his viage.
>
> (Prologue, l. 73.)

It will have been noticed that every garment so far mentioned represents a conquest rent by the female from the male. No lady wore *knickers* in the 19th century, or, if she did, the Oxford Dictionary has modestly refrained from putting the fact on record. Like the proverbial criminal, woman began by robbing the medieval warrior of his equipment and has ended by appropriating the most essential garment of the defenceless urchin.

One more possible derivative of *jupe* remains to be mentioned. Another Old French diminutive, *jupeau*, was adopted in 17th-century English as *gippo*, with the same sense as *jump* (p. 59). *Gippo* became also a nickname for a varlet, presumably from his wearing such a garment, just as a page-boy is sometimes called " buttons " and a military dignitary a " brass hat " or " red tab." In all probability it is to this

gippo that we owe the Cambridge [1] *gyp*, a college servant.

Kaiser

In the most brilliant of his letters, Paul-Louis Courier, referring contemptuously to Bonaparte's assumption of the imperial title, concludes, " Ce César l'entendait bien mieux, et aussi c'était un autre homme.   Il ne prit point de titres usés, mais il fit de son nom même un titre supérieur à celui de roi."

The name *Cæsar* passed into the Teutonic languages in the age of Augustus, i.e. about the beginning of the Christian era.   We find Goth. *kaisar*, Old High Ger. *keiser*, and Anglo-Sax. *cāsere*, all used in the sense of Roman Emperor, the Romance languages preferring the derivatives of Lat. *imperator* (Fr. *empereur*, It. *imperatore*, Sp. *emperador*).   The earliest English record of the word is in King Alfred's translation of Boethius.   It is interesting to note that this was the first word to be adopted by the Teutons from Latin, and that, after a life of just two thousand years, it is now presumably extinct.

Charlemagne was crowned Emperor of the West in 800, but his title was of course the Fr. *empereur*.   The first German *Kaiser* was Otto I, crowned by the Pope in 962 as " Roman Emperor of the German nation." The Holy Roman Empire came to an end in 1806 with the abdication of Francis II of Austria, to be revived, with a new centre of gravity, in 1871, when the King of Prussia was proclaimed German Emperor at Versailles.

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[1] I have come across an " Oxford gyp " in a novel.   Possibly he was an interested spectator of that historic race when all rowed fast, but none so fast as stroke.

From German the word passed, in the Middle Ages, into the Slavonic languages, and was formally assumed as the Russian Imperial title by Ivan IV in 1547. The old Slavonic form *cesare* (as in *cesarewitch* [1]) has been reduced to *czar* or *tsar* (the French spelling), and its German origin is still reflected in the feminine *czarina*, from Ger. *zarin*, with the Teutonic feminine suffix, cognate with Lat. *-ina* (as in *regina*), which in English survives only in *vixen*, the old feminine of *fox* (cf. Ger. *füchsin*). The Russian feminine form appears in the Anglicized *tsaritsa*.

A curious parallel to this adoption of a personal name as the title of a ruler is furnished by Russ. *korol'*, a king, from Old Slav. *kral*, which is taken from the name of *Carolus Magnus* or Charlemagne. And, to pursue the ups and downs of word-life a little farther, this famous name is simply the Ger. *kerl*, fellow, churl, made into a personal name in the same way that Gr. γεωργός, a husbandman, lit. earth-worker, has given us *George*.

No figure in history has ever loomed so large in the European imagination as Charlemagne. He has even been introduced into astronomy. *Arcturus*, originally one star, but often applied to the constellation Bootes, is Gr. Ἀρκτοῦρος, from ἄρκτος, bear, and οὖρος, guardian, because of its position behind the Bear. Chaucer calls it *arctour* and Wyclif *arture*, so that it is not extraordinary that it should have been confused with King Arthur. In medieval romance the legends and exploits of the mythical Arthur were apt to be attached to the historical Charlemagne, so that a star, vaguely

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[1] Hence the race established at Newmarket in 1839 and named from the Russian prince, afterwards Alexander II, who was paying a State visit to England

associated with the one, was in the end annexed by the other. Already in Anglo-Saxon, Bootes, i.e. the ox-driver, waggoner, is *carles-wægn*, the churl's wain. In Mid. English this "churl" was confused with Charlemagne and the constellation became "Charlemaynes Wayne," or "Charles's Wain."

One more metamorphosis of Charlemagne may be noted. His fame extended to Scandinavia and Iceland, which made him a saga hero, under the half Latinized name *Karla-magnus*. The Latin adjective was treated as a proper name and given in baptism to the son of Olaf II of Norway, known to history as St. Olaf, who died in 1029. This prince became King Magnus Barefoot of Norway and equalled his father's fame, with the result that his name became a favourite throughout the regions in which Old Norse was spoken. *Magnusson* is still one of the commonest Icelandic names. An important part of the population of Ireland was Norse,[1] so it is not surprising to find *Magnus* in early use as a baptismal name in that island, where it is still represented by the patronymic *Macmanus*.

Like

The practical genius of the English language has almost succeeded, to the great comfort of foreign students, in abolishing the subjunctive. We still say, "If I were you," and "I wish he were here." There are even pedantic people who preserve the Biblical "be" after "if" and "whether." We also use the subjunctive optatively in "So be it," "God save the King!" or "Heaven pity the man that's chained to

[1] "It was the Norsemen who really made Dublin the capital city of Ireland" (Mawer, The Vikings, p 121).

our Davie ! " The very vigorous survival of the sub-junctive in " if you like " is not generally recognized as such, but it is this phrase that has fixed the current sense of the verb, as in " I don't like London," for which grammatical correctness would require " London likes me not."

To make this clear we must go a little farther back. Anglo-Saxon had a noun *līc*,[1] body, which survives in *lych-gate*. From this were formed adjectives *gelīc*,[2] similar (now *like*), and *gelīclic*, fit, proper (now *likely*). From the idea of fitness contained in the adjective was evolved the verb *līcian*, to suit, please, governing, like Lat. *placēre* and Fr. *plaire*, the dative case. Thus Chaucer's rendering of " Victrix causa diis placuit, sed victa Catoni " is " The victorious cause likide to the goddes,[3] and the cause overcomen likide to Catoun." As late as 1668 Pepys writes, " I do hear that Sir W. Pen's going to sea do dislike the Parliament mightily."

The ungrammatical transitive use of the verb is very early in Mid. English. It occurs in Chaucer side by side with the older construction. " If you like " was probably at first a rendering of Old Fr. " se vos plaist " (modern " s'il vous plaît "), if it is pleasing to you, " you " being dative and " like " subjunc-tive. Another rendering was " if you please," the similar misunderstanding of which in English has resulted in a transitive verb " to please." We say without hesitation, " he was pleased," but a school-boy who rendered it by *placebatur* would not hear of anything to his advantage from his form-master.

[1] Cf. Ger. *leiche*, corpse, and forms in the other Teutonic lan-guages.

[2] Cf. Dutch *gelijk*, Ger. *gleich*, Old Norse *glikr*, Goth *galeiks*.

[3] Dutch keeps this, e.g. " Dat lijkt mij niet," " That likes me not."

Magazine

An intelligence test on a hundred modern children would, I suppose, show, as the immediate reaction of 99 per cent. to the sound of this word, the mental picture of a paper cover adorned by the figure of a shapely damsel, in a costume, or lack of costume, more or less appropriate to the season. This literary sense of the word is, however, only about two centuries old, and the shapely damsel, still absent from the serious and historic magazines, is merely a symptom of the wider appeal which results from the existence of an educated democracy.

A *magazine* is a store-house, now usually associated with gunpowder, but in the 16th century with any kind of goods. Fr. *magasin* is still a warehouse, though, from being applied to the great multiple stores, it has come to be a polite substitute for *boutique*, a shop.

Magazine, like *arsenal* (It. *arsenale*, Arab *al-sinaah*, the workshop), is a reminder of the power once exercised by the Arabs over the whole of the Mediterranean. It is Arab. *makhazīn*, the plural of *makhzan*, a warehouse, from *khazana*, to store up. It reached us via Fr. *magasin* or It. *magazzino*. Sp. *almacén* preserves, like many other Spanish words, the Arabic definite article *al*. Torriano's Italian Dictionary (1659) has "*magazzino*: a ware-house, a store-house, a magizine," and "*magazzino d'artegliaria*: an arsenall or store-house for artillerie," a sense which eventually became predominant in English.

Introduced by the 16th-century travellers and merchant-venturers, the word was, as early as Ben Jonson, used in the figurative sense of treasury, intel-

lectual wealth. In 1731 appeared the first number of the still flourishing Gentleman's Magazine, described in the Introduction as "a monthly collection to treasure up, as in a magazine, the most remarkable pieces on the subjects above-mentioned." This was imitated in the names of later rival publications, so that *magazine* eventually became a vague term for a periodical.

The more purely literary *review* is of earlier date. Apparently the title was first used in English by Defoe, who began the publication of The Review when in prison in 1704 and continued it till its suppression in 1713. The Annual Register (established in 1758) aimed at "uniting the plan of the magazines and that of the reviews."

Marzipan

Of late years Shakespeare's *marchpane* has rather been squeezed out by the German form *marzipan*. The confectionery of medieval Europe must have been rather crude, judging by the eagerness with which all the nations welcomed the almond compost that came from the East. We find It. *marzapane* in the 14th century. This was early borrowed by the other languages, e.g. Ger. *marzipan*, Sp. *mazapán*, Old Fr. *marsepain* (now *massepain*), Eng. *marchpane*, Dutch *marsepein*. The popularity of the sweetmeat was no doubt partly due to its being such an excellent medium for the ornamental and castellated structures with which our ancestors loved to adorn the board. At the banquet with which the city fathers of Geneva welcomed Agrippa d'Aubigné in 1620, there were "de forts grands marspans, portant les armoiries du

nouveau venu." [1] Much earlier than this the Oxford Dictionary quotes, from Fabyan's Chronicle (1494), "a marche payne garnysshed with dyverse figures of aungellys."

The earlier forms of the word all show a tendency to link it with Lat. *panis*, bread, and its derivatives in the Romance languages. Etymologists have explained it accordingly, light-heartedly throwing in Lat. *Martius* for the unexplained half. The true origin [2] is, as usual, stranger than fiction.

We start at the beginning of the Crusades with Arab. *mauthaban*, lit. a king sitting, the name given to a Byzantine coin, representing Christ on His throne, which circulated in the East. About the year 1200 a Venetian coin of similar pattern was introduced and popularly called, from the Arabic name, a *matapan.* This word, corrupted in some regions to *marzapane*, represented in value the tenth part of a larger coin, and later acquired the general sense of one-tenth. In Cyprus, by the 14th century, it was used of a box containing one-tenth of a "moggio" of almond-paste, and eventually of the contents of the box.

Monitor

The Illustrated London News for April 5, 1862, has an alarmist article headed "The Naval Revolution." The greater part of the front page on which the article begins is taken up with a picture of a weird-looking iron monster crashing into the side of an old-fashioned

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[1] Agrippa d'Aubigné's Vie à ses Enfants.
[2] See Kluyver, in Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung, vi. 59. The Oxford Dictionary observes its usual caution towards this theory, but it is accepted by Kluge, Meyer-Lübke, and Franck-Van Wijk.

wooden frigate. This monster was the Merrimac, originally a United States frigate, which the Federals, evacuating Norfolk after the secession of Virginia, had partly burnt, and which the Confederates had armoured with railway metals so as to make of her a kind of heavy-gun floating battery with a penthouse cupola. On March 8, 1862, this vessel, renamed the Virginia, emerged from the Confederate Navy Yard at Norfolk and proceeded to wipe out the squadron of five Federal frigates lying off Fort Monroe and in Hampton Roads. Having done this pretty effectually and without loss, she returned to Norfolk.

But the Federals had also been experimenting, and on the evening of the same day a new visitor appeared in the same waters. This was Captain Ericsson's Monitor : " Some months previously a Swedish engineer, already highly esteemed for his various inventions, had, though with some difficulty, persuaded the Federal Government to allow him to build a small floating sea-going battery, and had made himself, or his friends, pecuniarily responsible for its success. It was begun in October, launched on New Year's Day, and completely finished in ten days after. And we beg our readers to note the time as well as the cost involved—sixty thousand pounds " (Illus. Lond. News, loc. cit.).

The Monitor was small compared with the Merrimac. She had a deck almost flush with the water and was armed only with two heavy Dahlgren guns carried in a revolving turret. The combat was indecisive, each commander claiming that it was his opponent who first turned tail, and not a man was killed on either side. But the first iron-clad fight in history had taken place, and the Illustrated London News, quoting

The Times, wants to know what the Government is going to do about it : " Whereas we had available for immediate purposes 149 first-class war-ships, we have now two, these two being the Warrior and her sister Ironside." [1]   A fortnight later the Illustrated London News has a portrait of Captain Cowper Philip Coles [2] and a diagram showing his scheme for cutting down a three-decker and converting it into a " shield-ship."

The name *Monitor* was given by Ericsson himself. Here are his own words in a letter : " The iron-clad intruder will thus prove a severe monitor to these leaders. . . .   On these and similar grounds I propose to name the new battery Monitor."   It was at once adopted for the particular type of vessel of which the *Monitor* was the first example.

Very much the same thing has happened in the case of *Dreadnought*.   This rather assertive name was borne by one of Queen Elizabeth's ships, and has been in naval use ever since.   In 1906 it was given to a new all-big-gun ship, and at once became, like *monitor*, a generic name.

Moot

This is an example of a word, once in general use, now limited to a few stock phrases.   A " moot point " is one which is arguable.   To " moot a question " is to put it on the tapis.   Both of these phrases survive from the language of the law, and refer to a practice in use at the Inns of Court.   Anglo-Sax. *mōt* or *gemōt* means meeting.   From it is formed by vowel mutation the verb *mētan*, to meet.   Many towns still have

[1] The only English armoured ships then launched were the Warrior and the Black Prince.

[2] The designer of the ill-fated Captain, on which he went down in 1870 off Cape Finistère

moot-halls, i.e. ancient council-chambers or guildhalls ; *folk-mote*, national assembly, is used by historians, and *wardmote* survives in municipal government. The Anglo-Saxon Parliament was the *witena-gemōt*, meeting of the witty. The word thus corresponds pretty closely with the Scandinavian *thing* (see *hustings*).

The idea of meeting passed, already in Anglo-Saxon times, into that of litigation, argument. By the 17th century the word tended to be specialized as a legal term, as we may conclude from the fact that it does not occur in Shakespeare or the Authorized Version. Its survival is due to the practice of holding at the Inns of Court *moots* at which law-students gain experience by arguing an hypothetical case. This practice is alluded to by Elyot, in The Governour (1531), as " the pleadynge used in courte and Chauncery called motes ; where fyrst a case is appoynted to be moted by certayne yonge men, contayning some doubtfull controversie." It is still in vogue at Gray's Inn, where *moots* are held periodically, and has recently (Oct. 1925) been revived at the Middle Temple.

Mop

The earlier form of *mop* was *map* (15th century). In an Etymological Dictionary which I published in 1921, I gave, with many misgivings, the traditional etymology from Old Fr. *mappe*, napkin. The obvious objections are that a napkin is not a mop, that Old Fr. *mappe* is a very rare word (for the usual *nappe*), found only in the Walloon dialect, and that there is no reason why we should have given a foreign name to so elementary and necessary an implement. A further objection, and one which puts the Walloon

word quite out of court, is that Mid. Eng. *mappe* is short for an earlier *mapple*, just as *buff*, leather and colour, is short for an early *buffle*, Old French for a wild ox (buffalo).

When we find in the Promptorium Parvulorum (1440) the entry " malkyne, mappyl, or oven swepare," and another entry " mappel, idem quod malkyn," we are getting warm.

The application of personal names to handy devices is a familiar linguistic phenomenon. The burglar's *jemmy* will occur to every reader. The contrivance which destroys our shirt-buttons is well known all over England as a *dolly* or *peggy*. *Malkin*, which is an old diminutive of Matilda or Maud (Mid. English also Malde), perhaps also of Mary (familiarly Mal), was colloquial Mid. English for a wench, a slut, and a mop. Later it came to mean a rag-doll and a scarecrow, in both of which senses it is still in dialect use (e.g. in Adam Bede). *Malkin* is also a dialect nickname for the hare, in which connection it is worth noting that *mapkin* is similarly used of the rabbit. It seems a reasonable inference that *mapple*, like *malkin*, was originally a personal name.

That name is *Mabel*, for the older *Amabel*, a common Mid. English font-name, to which we owe the modern surnames Mabbs, Mabley, Mabbott, Maple, Mapple, Mapleson, and Mobbs. Neither the substitution of -*p* for -*b*, nor the change to -*o*- (cf. Molly for Mally, i.e. Mary, Moggy for Maggy, etc.) is at all abnormal.

The rather pretty name *Mabel* seems to have been especially rustic. Writing in 1863, Charlotte Yonge says, " It is still used among the northern peasantry." Soon after this date it came into fashion, and had a great vogue during the second half of the 19th cen-

tury. But in early records it often carries the implication of slut, hag, etc. In the Friar's Tale Satan addresses the cunning old crone as " Mabely, myn owene moder deere " (Chauc. D. 1626). In the 16th-century play of Jacob and Esau occurs the line " Come out, thou mother Mab, out olde rotten witche."

We now think of Queen Mab as a dainty apparition with gauzy petticoats and gossamer wings. It is thus that she appears to those fortunate photographers who have the exceptional gift of snap-shotting fairies. But to the Middle Ages elves were malevolent demons and their queen a grisly hag, to whom was naturally given a proper name already used as a term of vituperation.

Map was used in the 16th century for a mop, and the verb to *mab* meant to dress like a slattern. We have also *mabble* or *mobble*, to wrap up the head. Shakespeare's " mobled Queen " (Hamlet, ii, 2) had " a clout about that head where late the diadem stood." So also the variant *mob* was applied in the 17th century both to a naughty lady and to a négligé attire, especially the morning dress of the slattern. Steele, in the Spectator, alludes to " wrapping gowns and dirty linen, with all that huddled economy of dress which passes under the general name of a mob." This survives in the *mob-cap*, which was earlier a simple *mob :* " Her head-dress was a Brussels-lace mob, peculiarly adapted to the charm and turn of her features " (Clarissa Harlowe).

Mop was not only used of a rag-doll, but also playfully of a baby or a young girl, a " flapper," and in this sense often lengthened to *mops* or *moppet*. On the latter was rhymed *poppet* (like Peggy for Meggy), and this was later confused with *puppet*, which is of

French origin (cf. Fr. *poupée*, a doll).   Finally a young
whiting was called in the 16th century a "whiting
mop," which Puttenham, in his Arte of English
Poesie, explains as follows : " Understanding by this
word (*moppe*) a little prety lady or tender young thing.
For so we call little fishes, that be not come to their
full growth, as whiting moppes, gurnard moppes."

Oriel

Oriel College, Oxford, is properly St. Mary's College,
a name still perpetuated in St. Mary's Hall.   At the
foundation of the College (1326) a grant was made of
a messuage known as " the Oriole."   This was occupied
by the provost and fellows, the " society of the Oriole."
It was probably a house with a conspicuous oriel
window.   An *oriel* is now, according to the Oxford
Dictionary, " a large recess with a window, of poly-
gonal plan, projecting from the outer face of the wall
of a building and either supported from the ground
or on corbels."   Its earliest meaning is a little doubt-
ful, but it seems likely that it always formed outwardly
a projection and inwardly a recess or sanctum, such
as may be seen in many college halls.   The word has
been much discussed.   In 1831 a Mr. W. Hamper
contributed to Archæologia an exhaustive article on
all the known occurrences and supposed meanings of
the word, concluding with the grotesque suggestion
that the *oriel* is named as being " o'er all ! "
The oldest forms are Anglo-Fr. *oriol* (c. 1200) and
Med. Lat. *oriolum* (c. 1250), explained by Du
Cange as " porticus, atrium."   These forms would
correspond phonetically to a Lat. *aureolum* (cf. Fr.
oreille from Lat. *auricula*), a fact which has led some
etymologists to see in the *oriel* a gilded apartment.

The *aureolum* which has become *oriel* has, however, no connection with *aurum*, gold.

The earliest record of Old Fr. *oriol* seems to show a meaning very similar to that of the modern word. In Stanley's Memorials of Canterbury we read, " Robert de Broc, who had known the palace during the time of its occupation by his uncle Randolf, called out, ' Follow me, good sirs, I will show you another way,' and got into the orchard behind the kitchen. There was a staircase leading thence to the ante-chamber between the hall and the Archbishop's bedroom. The wooden steps were under repair, and the carpenters had gone to their dinner, leaving their tools on the stairs. Fitzurse seized an axe, and the others hatchets, and thus armed they mounted to the ante-chamber, broke through an oriel window which looked out on the garden, entered the hall from the inside, etc."

This is a free, and not quite clear, rendering of the almost contemporary account to be found in Guernes de Pont-Sainte-Maxence's Vie Saint Thomas le Martir, of which the essential passage runs :

> A l'uis de la chambre out un oriol fermé,
> Dreit devers le chardin, qui out maint jor esté.
> Pur refaire erent dunc abatu li degré,
> E li carpentier erent a lur disner alé.
> A cel oriol sunt li chevalier turné.

The Old French context rather suggests that Robert managed to clamber up to the *oriel* and let down a ladder for his companions.

The Med. Lat. *oriolum* occurs in Matthew Paris, who speaks of " atrium nobilissimum in introitu quod porticus vel oriolum appellatur." It would appear from this that such a structure was a very ornamental *atriolum*. The Latin name for a hall or court was

atrium, but the Romans also borrowed *aula* from Greek, and it was the latter word that prevailed, to the exclusion of *atrium*, in Med. Latin. The correct diminutive of *aula* is *aulula*, but, under the influence of *atriolum*, Late Latin apparently adopted *aulæolum*, from *aulæum*, a curtain, in the sense of little hall.[1]

That this is not a mere conjecture appears from the fact that *aulæolum*, sanctuary, shrine or oratory, is recorded by Du Cange from the Bollandists' Martyrologium. Here is the entry in full: "*Auleolum*: sacellum, ab aula, ecclesia, de qua suo loco, Miraculo S. Urbani Mart. tom. 6 Maii pag. 18: 'In qua benedictione dum carpentarii vellent aptare analogium ad sermocinandum de auleolo S. Urbani, quod situm erat super Maternam, ubi solebat poni corpus Urbani pretiosi martyris, exigente ratione temporis membratim disjunctum nullatenus redintegrare valuerunt.' "

This passage seems to mean that in the course of this consecration, some joiners, while attempting to fit a pulpit in the shrine or oratory of St. Urban, which was situated above the Lady-chapel, where the body of the precious martyr Urban used to be laid, to meet the exigencies of the moment divided him into joints and then were quite unable to put him together again. It may be taken as proving the existence of *auleolum* in something like the required sense.

Although a monkish scribe would naturally write *auleolum*, the popular pronunciation would almost certainly be *aureolum*. French has an invincible anti-

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[1] There would also be a natural connection between a sanctum and a curtain. Cf. Late Lat. *cortina*, used in the double sense of small court and curtain. This may have been due to the relation of *aula* and *aulæum*. (See *court*, p. 26.)

pathy to the recurrence of *l-l*, *n-n*, or *r-r*. Thus Old Fr. *lossignol* becomes *rossignol*, Old Fr. *gonfanon* becomes *gonfalon*, Old Fr. *couroir* becomes *couloir*, and the same phenomenon was common in Vulgar Latin (see *pilgrim*, p. 88). Nor is this *aureolum* only a conjectural form. In a 15th-century Latin-German glossary published by Diefenbach in 1846 occurs the gloss " *aulea* vel *aureola :* fur hang (= Ger. *vorhang*, curtain)." The fact that it is used here in the true sense, and not the " oriel " sense, of *auleolum*, makes no difference to the phonetic argument.

Pagan

All dictionaries that I have consulted give a quite erroneous explanation of this word.[1] It comes, of course, from Lat. *paganus*, peasant (from *pagus*, a village), which in Late Latin took the sense represented in the Teutonic languages by *heathen* and its cognates. It appears in English in the 14th century, replacing the earlier *payen*, which we had borrowed from Old French (modern *païen*).

But why should a peasant be a heathen ? Trench is quite clear about it : " The Church fixed itself first in the seats and centres of intelligence, in the towns and cities of the Roman Empire ; in them its earliest triumphs were won ; while, long after these had accepted the truth, heathen superstitions and idolatries lingered on in the obscure hamlets and villages ; so that *pagans*, or villagers, came to be applied to all the remaining votaries of the old and decayed superstitions, although not all, but only most of them, were

[1] I may say that the correct explanation is given in my own dictionary, but for this I am indebted to the Oxford Dictionary, Addenda to Vol. vii.

such. . . . *Heathen* has run a course curiously similar "
(The Study of Words, 29th ed.).

This theory goes back to the statement of Orosius,
a Spaniard (fl. c. 300), to the effect that " Ex locorum
agrestium compitis et pagis pagani vocantur," i.e.
" From the cross-roads and villages of the rural regions
they are called pagans." Even the Oxford Dictionary
gives the traditional derivation, with a reference to
Trench and the quotation from Orosius. But, if we
turn to the " Additions and Emendations," we find a
full recantation : " The explanation of Lat. *paganus*
in the sense non-Christian, heathen, as arising out of
that of villager, rustic, has been shown to be chrono-
logically and historically untenable, for this use of the
word goes back to Tertullian (c. 202), when paganism
was still the public and dominant religion. . . . The
explanation is now found in the Latin use of *paganus*,
as = non-militant, civilian, opposed to *miles*, soldier,
one of the army. The Christians called themselves
milites, enrolled soldiers of Christ, members of His
militant Church, and applied to non-Christians the
term applied by soldiers to all who were not enrolled
in the army. Cf. Tertullian, De Corona Militis,
xi, ' Apud hunc [Christum] tam miles est paganus
fidelis quam paganus est miles infidelis.' "

The erroneous view as to the origin of *pagan* was
definitely fixed by Gibbon in his long Note to Ch. xxi
of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. It is
curious that so great a scholar should not have seen
the implications of his own history of the word, for
he was quite well aware that *paganus* was a term
of contempt in the Roman Army. Indeed, although
he alludes to the fact that " the old religion retired
and languished in obscure villages," he almost seems,

earlier in his Note, to indicate the true origin of the word : " The amazing increase of the military order introduced the necessity of a correlative term ; and all the people who were not enlisted in the service of the prince were branded with the contemptuous epithet of *pagan*. The Christians were the soldiers of Christ, their adversaries, who refused His sacrament, or military oath of baptism, might deserve the meta-phorical name of *pagans* [1] ; and this popular reproach was introduced, as early as the reign of Valentinian (A.D. 365), into Imperial laws and theological writings."

At the Battle of Bedriacum (A.D. 69), when the Pretorian guard gave way, their commander apostro-phized them, according to Tacitus (Hist. III, xxiv, 4), as follows : " Vos nisi vincitis, pagani, quis alius imperator, quæ castra alia excipient ? " i.e. " Unless you are victorious, you clodhoppers, what other com-mander or camp will receive you ? " Juvenal, describ-ing the privileges and arrogance of the soldier, points out that an assaulted and battered civilian has little hope of redress :

> Citius falsum producere testem
> Contra paganum possis, quam vera loquentem
> Contra fortunam armati, contraque pudorem.[2]
>
> (Sat. xvi.)

Thus *pagan* owes its existence and its meaning to the Roman Tommy, who applied it to the individual whom the French soldier calls *pékin* and whom Private Mulvaney describes as " a lousy civilian."

[1] Cf. Gessner, in his Thesaurus Linguæ Latinæ (1747) : " Hinc pagani a veteribus Christianis dicebantur Gentiles, quod Christi milites non essent."

[2] You could sooner produce a false witness against the civilian than anyone to speak the truth against the interests and honour of the soldier.

Pall-mall

When Charles II returned from his travels, he introduced, or at any rate popularized, some sports [1] which had been little cultivated under the Puritan régime. *Pall-Mall*, now the name of a street, was once a game. It is of Italian origin, from *palla*, a ball, and *maglio*, a mallet. The first word is of Teutonic origin, and is identical with our *ball*; the second is from Lat. *malleus*, a hammer. English travellers of the 16th century sometimes speak of it as *palla-malla*. It reached us via Old Fr. "*palemaille :* a game, wherein a round box bowle is with a mallet strucke through a high arch of yron (standing at either end of an alley one) which he that can do at the fewest blowes, or at the number agreed on, winnes" (Cotgrave).

Like other continental sports (e.g. golf), *pall-mall* reached Scotland first. In 1568 the unfortunate Mary Stuart not only limited her "dule" for Darnley to eight days, instead of the orthodox forty, but was also seen, during that period, playing one day "richt opponlie at feildis with the palmall and goif." [2]

Blount, writing in 1656, copies Cotgrave's definition, and adds, "This game was heretofore used at the alley near St. Jameses, and vulgarly called Pel-Mel," the "heretofore" suggesting that this frivolity had been suppressed under the Commonwealth. At any rate, it was only after the Restoration that Pepys saw it played: "So I into St. James's Park, where I saw the Duke of York playing at pele-mele, the first time that ever I saw the sport" (April 2, 1661).

Evelyn, in his travels, usually made a point of visiting the *pall-malls* or *malls* of the chief French towns,

[1] Cf. *skate* (p. 117).
[2] Calendar of Scottish papers, 1563–9, p. 558.

and sometimes playing "a party or two." Thus at
Blois, in 1644: "On Sunday, being May-day, we
walked up into Pall-Mall, very long, and so nobly
shaded with tall trees (being in the midst of a great
wood), that, unless that of Tours, I had not seen a
statelier." The game is still played in France under
the name of *mail*, and many old towns have a shaded
walk called by the same name. Anatole France's
L'Orme du Mail would be, in English, The Elmtree
on the Mall.

An earlier borrowing of the same word, in its original
sense of a heavy hammer, has given us *maul*, whence a
verb meaning now to lacerate, pull about, but originally
to batter, belabour, stun:

> But the sad steele seiz'd not, where it was hight,
> Uppon the Childe, but somewhat short did fall,
> And lighting on his horses head him quite did mall.
>   (Faerie Queene, V, xi, 8.)

When the *Pall-Mall* developed into a residential
street, the new *Mall* was constructed in the Park
itself. Waller has an idiotic poem on the subject:

> Here, a well-polished Mall gives us the joy
> To see our Prince his matchless force employ;
> His manly posture and his graceful mien,
> Vigour and youth, in all his motions seen,
> His shape so lovely and his limbs so strong,
> Confirm our hopes we shall obey him long.
> No sooner has he touched the flying ball,
> But 'tis already more than half the Mall;
> And such a fury from his arm has got
> As from a smoking culverin it were shot.
>   (On St. James's Park as lately improved by His Majesty.)

One inhabitant of the *Pall-Mall* was Nell Gwyn,
whose house stood on the south side overlooking the
new *Mall*. The correct Evelyn regretfully witnessed

an interview between this lady and King Charles, the latter's name being disguised in the Diary by the decent obscurity of asterisks : " I thence walked with him through St. James's Park to the garden, where I both saw and heard a very familiar discourse between * * * and Mrs. Nelly, as they called an impudent comedian, she looking out of her garden on a terrace at the top of the wall, and * * * standing on the green walk under it. I was heartily sorry at this scene."

Pearmain

The little book which is my horticultural guide, philosopher, and friend, describes the Worcester *pearmain* as of " fair " quality, with the added faint praise, " Its colour sells the crops." This hardly does justice to a very worthy apple, which, in the Middle Ages, was a warden pear ! In the medieval Latin dictionaries *pearmain* is always glossed by *volemum*, a pear mentioned by Virgil and explained by a Roman etymologist as so called " quod volam compleat magnitudine," i.e. because it fills the palm of the hand with its bulk.[1] The Catholicon Anglicum (1483) has " *parmayn :* volemum, Anglicè a warden." Cooper (1573) has " *volema :* great peares, wardens." The 1650 edition of Cotgrave still has " *poire de parmain :* the permaine peare," but, by about 1600, the word had begun to be used of an apple, its only modern sense, though in the current spelling we may perhaps trace some association with its past history.

[1] Isidore of Seville, who mentions this etymology, adds, " Quidam autem volemum Gallica lingua bonum et magnum intellegunt." Walde, deriving *volemum* from Oscan *valaemom*, best, suggests that Isidore's " Gallica " may be a vague term for an unknown tongue.

Holyoak (1612) gives, in his list of apples, "*pompire* or *pearemaine:* melapium, pyrimalum." Here we catch the word in the act. *Pompire, melapium,* and *pyrimalum,* all meaning "apple-pear," suggest that the apple was named from possessing some feature or quality regularly associated with the *pearmain-pear* or *warden-pear.* By the 18th century the pear has definitely become, for Johnson, "an apple."

The word is Old Fr. *parmain, permain,* used of both fruits, its form and masculine gender (while *poire* and *pomme* are feminine) suggesting that it may have originally been an adjective applied to any kind of *fruit.* Editors of Old French texts seem to render *permain* arbitrarily by apple or pear. Thus, in the 12th-century Vie de Saint-Gilles, "cooinz, permeins, pesches e fies" is explained as quinces, apples, peaches, and figs, while in the epic poem Doon de la Roche, also 12th-century, "pomes et poires et parmains" is supposed to mean apples, pears, and "pears." It survives in Normandy in the feminine form *permaine* (sc. *pomme*). A plausible etymology from Lat. *permagnus,* very large, has been suggested; but it is hardly likely that *permagnus* should have passed, in this one special sense, into French, which rejected the simple *magnus* [1] in favour of its synonym *grandis.*

The origin usually accepted connects the word with the town of Parma. The Oxford Dictionary says, "M.E. a. O.F. *par-, permain,* app. ad. L. **parmanus* of Parma : see W. Foerster in Zeitschr. f. Rom. Phil. 1899, xxiii, 423." The Oxford Dictionary here departs somewhat from its usually cautious attitude. There is not an atom of evidence to connect the warden

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[1] The only certain survival of *magnus* in French is in the name *Charlemagne,* of learned formation.

pear or the pearmain apple with Parma, or with Italy at all, nor is there, so far as I know, any record of a Latin adjective *Parmanus*.

As the *warden* pear was probably so-called from its keeping qualities (v.i.), it seems reasonable to suppose that its alternative name may also have referred to its " permanency." There is an Old French verb, *permaindre* or *parmaindre*, to endure, from Lat. *permanēre*.[1] It occurs in 15th-century Scots as *parmayne*. Old French sometimes formed adjectives from verbs, e.g. from *estaler*, to display on a " stall," we have the Old French adjective *estale*,[2] whence Eng. *stale*, in all its senses. So also *demure*, staid (i.e. stayed), is formed in Anglo-French from Norman *demurer* (Mod. Fr. *demeurer*), to stay. So I conjecture that from *parmaindre*, to last, was evolved an adjective *parmain*, applied especially to fruits of keeping quality.[3]

That the word existed appears from the Old French adverb *à parmain*, usually explained as " immediately," but meaning also, in early records, " in perpetuity," an idea more often rendered in Old French by *permanablement*. Lacurne de Sainte-Palaye quotes, from an Old French poem of the 13th century :

> Amors m'ont si par tot le cors saisi,
> Que a parmain iert ma joie fenie,

[1] It really represents Vulgar Lat. *permanere* ; cf. *remainder*, which is Old Fr. *remaindre*, Vulgar Lat. *remanere*, for *remanēre*.

[2] It survives only as a French nautical word applied to what is stationary, e.g. *mer étale*, *navire étale*, etc.

[3] There is also an Old Fr. *parmain*, fine-grained sandstone, perhaps also named from its lasting quality, and it is possible that the pear may have been called from it. The grittiness of winter pears is well known ; cf. Fr. *jargonelle*, originally applied to a " variété de poire, fort pierreuse " (Littré), which etymologists derive from the stone called *jargon*.

which may be rendered, " Love has so enthralled my whole being that my happiness will be ended ' for keeps.' "

The *warden* pear, Mid. Eng. *wardon*, is chiefly familiar, in collocation with *pie*, to those Victorian survivors who still appreciate the Ingoldsby Legends. It was no doubt from Shakespeare (Winter's Tale, iv, 2) that Barham borrowed *warden-pie* :

> And near this fleshless skeleton a pitcher small did lie
> And a mouldy piece of " kissing-crust," as from a warden-pie.
> (Nell Cook.)

The records of the word show that *warden* and *pearmain* were formerly used indifferently for a hard winter pear used for stewing or baking. Palsgrave (1530) defines *wardon* as " poire à cuire, poire de garde." Cotgrave (1611) explains *poire de garde* as " a warden, or winter peare, a peare which may be kept verie long." Johnson notes " wardens bak'd " as a street-cry, with the wise comment, " I know not whence denominated."

There can be little doubt that Mid. Eng. *wardon* is an Anglo-French derivative (like Fr. *jeton* from *jeter*) of Old Fr. *warder*, to keep, a north-eastern variant of *garder*. The later spelling is a popular assimilation to the more familiar word *warden*.

Philistine [1]

The Oxford Dictionary defines a *philistine* as " a person deficient in liberal culture and enlightenment, whose interests are chiefly bounded by material and commonplace things," with the corollary, " but often applied contemptuously by connoisseurs of any

[1] See Kluge, Wortforschung und Wortgeschichte, pp. 20–44.

particular art or department of learning to one who
has no knowledge or appreciation of it ; sometimes a
mere term of dislike for those whom the speaker
considers bourgeois." The general equivalence to
some minds of *bourgeois* and *philistine* is curiously
illustrated in a quotation from Mr. Trotsky's book
on the late Mr. Lenin, which I cull from the Daily
Express (March 30, 1925). It appears that, when the
latter met Mr. H. G. Wells, he realized " his pompous
self-satisfaction, his narrowness, his civilized haughti-
ness, and his civilized ignorance," and, having taken
in this picture, he shook his head a long time and
said, " What a philistine! What a monstrous little
bourgeois ! "

This English use of *philistine* is due chiefly to Carlyle
and Matthew Arnold, both of whom make use of
it repeatedly, though perhaps they did not give
it exactly the same sense. Both of them had a
spiritual home, or, at least, an intellectual pied-à-
terre, in Germany, a land which, in the middle of the
nineteenth century, attracted many English minds
weary of contemplating the blatant prosperity of
their own country and that insufferable complacency
born of easy wealth, that made Matthew Arnold
exclaim,[1] " Philistinism! We have not the expression
in English. Perhaps we have not the word because
we have so much of the thing."

Through what vicissitudes did the name of a
Canaanitish tribe pass in order to end up as a natural
description of Mr. Podsnap ? The use of the names
of savage tribes, such as Goth and Vandal, in the
vague sense of uncultivated barbarian, is common.
The Roundheads sometimes described the Cavaliers

[1] Essay on Heine.

as Amalekites. In the 17th century *philistines* were
in English " serjeants, bailiffs, and their crew " (Dic-
tionary of the Canting Crew), and also " drunkards and
lewd fellows." In Germany, at the same period,
and especially at Jena, *die philister* were the townsmen
as opposed to the gownsmen.

It seems possible that the name was originally
applied at Jena to the town guard, with which disorderly
students were apt to come in conflict. These watch-
men were probably, like policemen, hefty fellows,
and their nickname was a direct allusion to Goliath,
for we find the German word *philister* used as a collo-
quialism for a tall man earlier than its first record in
university slang. The later application to the townee
has a curious parallel in *spiessbürger*, a narrow-minded
bourgeois, literally a burgess armed with a pike, i.e.
a town guardsman, contemptuously used by German
students for a townsman many years before *philister*
turns up in a similar sense.

The story generally received in Germany, a story
recorded early in the 18th century, is that a Jena
student was killed by townsmen in a brawl in 1689,
that the Rector of the University preached his funeral
sermon on the text, " Die Philister über dir, Simson ! "
(Judges xvi. 9), and that *philister* thus became in
Jena a recognized nickname for a townsman, and was
adopted gradually by the other German universities.
There is probably some truth in this story, though
the most thorough research has not succeeded in
actual verification. It is quite certain that the word
philister was in use at Jena for a member of the
town-guard a few years before the date to which
tradition assigns the murder, so that, if the sermon
was really preached, the text was no doubt selected

with deliberate intent. Anyhow, the meaning of *philister* in student language of the 18th and 19th centuries is rather contemptuous than hostile. It corresponds pretty closely with the use of *bourgeois*[1] among French students. A townsman who lets rooms is a *hausphilister*; one who hires out horses is a *pferdephilister*, and so on.

The modern sense of the word is partly due to Goethe, who repeatedly uses it, in letters and conversations, of the commonplace man without imagination or sense of mystery, and it must be added, also, of those who do not find it necessary to give convincing proof of their genius by trampling underfoot the received conventions of decency and morality. Goethe, to whom the word was of course familiar in its established university sense, seems to have given it this new connotation at the time of his closest intimacy with Herder, and possibly under his influence. Schiller also adopted the word with eagerness, and it is to him rather than to Goethe that is due its general acceptance in the sense in which we now understand it.

Its introduction into literature proper belongs to 1797, the year in which Goethe and Schiller ran amok among contemporary authors with their " Xenien," or epigrams, which were sent forth with the injunction, " Fort ins land der Philister, ihr füchse mit brennenden schwänzen."[2] Before Goethe's death (in 1832) Carlyle had used *philistine* and *philistinism* in Sartor Resartus, but it was Matthew Arnold who gave the word its real currency. To Carlyle the *philistine* was any bore

[1] Francisque Sarcey puts into the mouth of an old " Bohemian " the definition, " Les philistins sont les derniers des hommes, des crétins, des goîtreux et, pour tout dire d'un seul mot, des bourgeois."

[2] Forth into the land of the Philistines, ye foxes with burning tails.

except himself; to Matthew Arnold he was not only the man who deliberately turns his back on the culture which his education and economic position put within his reach, but anyone with the slightest suggestion of the blatant. Arnold would, I think, have approved the title, in the London Mercury for May 1925, of an article on Macaulay headed, " A Philistine Critic of Literature."

Pilgrim

There is a class of words which some continental philologists call " European words," because they have been adopted by all the civilized languages of Europe. Such words are often the names of exotic commodities, such as *pepper*, taken immediately from Latin, but ultimately from the East, in almost prehistoric times, or *tea*, of much more recent adoption from Chinese. There are two important groups of early " European words " of Latin origin. One of them includes those terms the general adoption of which points to the pre-eminence of the Romans in trade, war, the arts of peace and administration, while the other consists of " Church words."

In the case of both these groups of Latin words it sometimes happened that the Teutons made a choice different from that of the Romance nations. We have already seen this in the case of *Kaiser*. *Church* is a striking example from the Christian group, the Romance languages preferring *ecclesia*. *Pilgrim* has been universally accepted, e.g. Ger. *pilgrim* (usually *pilger*), Dutch *pelgrim*, Old Norse *pilagrimr*, though, as often happens, there are native coinages which compete with the imported word, e.g. Dutch *bedevaert*, prayer journey, Ger. *wallfahrt*, wander journey (from

wallen, cognate with Eng. *walk*, and *fahren*, to travel, fare).

The ultimate origin of the word is simple. It is Lat. *peregrinus*,[1] stranger, foreigner, from *pereger*, one abroad, from *per*, through, *ager*, field, land ; but the form of the English word and its method of adoption need some explanation.

There is in many languages an instinctive tendency to corrupt a word in which the sound of *l*, *n*, or *r* [2] is repeated, by substituting another sound from the same group. This is called dissimilation (see *oriel*, p. 73). Such dissimilation was common in Vulgar Latin, e.g. Fr. *flairer*, to smell, sniff, is Vulgar Lat. *flagrare*, for classical *fragrare*. One of the Roman grammarians whose works have survived warns his pupils to say *flagellum*,[3] not *fragellum*.

For *peregrinus* the Romans said *pelegrinus*. This form is recorded in an inscription of the 4th century, and has given all the descended words, except Sp. *peregrino*. The -*m* of *pilgrim* is due to a Teutonic fondness for that final, especially exemplified in English, e.g. *vellum* (Fr. *vélin*), *venom* (Fr. *venin*), *grogram* (Old Fr. *gros grain*), etc. The word was adopted in Old High German in the 9th century, and is recorded in English, also as *pelegrim*, from the 12th. Both represent It. *pellegrino*,[4] probably the earliest Italian word adopted by Teutonic.

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[1] The " peregrine falcon " was so called because caught on its passage.

[2] This applies to other sounds also, but these three liquids furnish the simplest examples.

[3] Hence Eng. *flail*. I am told that in Norfolk this is sometimes corrupted to *frail*. Thus word-history repeats itself.

[4] The Oxford Dictionary derivation from a prehistoric form of Fr. *pèlerin* is, I think, impossible.

7

The reason for this remarkably early borrowing is obvious to anyone who considers geographically the old path to Rome. The pilgrim on his way through France would hear himself called a *pèlerin*, but, when he got into the south, with a view to embarking at Marseilles, he would get to know the Provençal *pelegrin*. If, as a really virtuous pilgrim, he avoided the sea-passage and tackled the Alpine passes, the Roumansh *pelegrin* would also greet his ears. Either of these would account for the German and English words, but the name by which the Holy City herself saluted him would naturally stamp itself most deeply on his memory.

Pipe

The Romans had a verb *pipare*, or *pipiare*, to pipe, cheep, like a young bird.[1] It is obviously an onomatopœic word, like the synonymous Eng. *peep*, Ger. *piepsen*, Fr. *pépier*. These are not borrowed from Latin, but created in their respective languages by the same imitative instinct; cf. also Gr. πιππίζειν. From this verb must have been evolved a noun *pipa*, presumably applied to the fowler's little reed whistle or bird-call. This is one of the cases in which a comparison of the existing derivatives enables us to assume with certainty the existence of a Latin colloquial word of which there is no written record. The original sense of the word appears in Fr. *pipeau*, a bird-call,[2] *piper*, to allure, swindle, *pipée*, the art of deceiving birds by artificial calls.

[1] Cf. Late Lat. *pipio*, *pipionem*, cheeper, whence Fr. *pigeon*, which has ousted from English the older name *culver*.

[2] Also used, by a not unnatural transition of sense, for a limed twig. *Pipeau* is a diminutive of the older *pipe*, the musical sense of which is obsolete in French.

The essential shrillness of the *pipe* as compared with other wind instruments is still exemplified in the boatswain's *pipe*, which is a whistle, and in " piping hot," which refers to viands still sizzling :

> He sente hire pyment, meeth and spiced ale,
> And wafres, pipyng hoot out of the gleede.[1]
>
> (Chauc. A. 3378.)

As a musical instrument the *pipe* was associated in English with peace and pastoral happiness. Shakespeare contrasts with war's stern alarums " this weak, piping time of peace " (Richard III, i, 1). It was especially the concomitant of the dance, e.g. " We have piped[2] unto you and ye have not danced " (Luke vii. 32), and the question of " paying the piper " sometimes led to difficulties.

Compounds of the *pipe* are *hornpipe* and *bagpipe*. The former was a *pipe* elaborated by means of a horn mouthpiece. " Horne pipes of Cornewaile " are men-tioned in the Romaunt of the Rose (l. 4250). Later it became the name of a dance, especially in connection with sailors' merry-makings. The association of the *bagpipe* with Scotland is, so far as the name is con-cerned, comparatively modern. The Gaels borrowed *pipe* from English as *piob*, from which is derived *piobair*, piper, and *piobaireachd*, the art of playing the pipes, Anglicè *pibroch*. But the bagpipe (cf. Ger. *sackpfeife*) was an old instrument in England. We know that the Miller " piped " the Canterbury Pilgrims out of town, and that Falstaff on one occa-sion was " as melancholy as the drone of a Lincolnshire bagpipe " (1 Henry IV, i, 2).

The " pied piper," who lured the rats from Hamelin,

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[1] Hot embers.

[2] Vulgate *cantavimus tibiis*, from *tibia*, flute, shin-bone, whence Fr. *tige*, stem.

was a Ger. *pfeifer*, for the word penetrated into German
at a very early date.[1]   This is shown by the initial
pf-, pointing to adoption before the second (i.e. High
German) sound-shifting ; cf. *pflaster*, plaster, *pfeffer*,
pepper, *pfeil*, arrow (from Lat. *pilum*, dart).   The
Ger. *pfeife* came into English in the 15th century.
It was sometimes called the " Almain (i.e. German)
whistle."   We have made it into *fife*, with essentially
warlike   associations.   The   following   16th-century
passage shows a transition form between *pfeife* and
fife : " Forthwith came a French man being a phipher,
in a little boate, playing on his phiph the tune of the
Prince of Orenge his song " (Hakluyt, x, 129).

The musical sense of *pipa* passed into all the Ro-
mance and Teutonic languages, but it is in English
that the other derived senses are by far the most
numerous.   Fr. *pipe* is now little used, except in the
sense of tobacco-pipe.   This may have developed
from the general idea of tube, but I fancy it was
originally a witticism, the smoking implement being
compared to a musical instrument held in the mouth.
Otherwise we could hardly explain the similar use of
Ger. *pfeife*, which never acquired the general meaning
of tube and is used only of a flute or whistle and a
tobacco-pipe.[2]

It is in English only that *pipe* has taken that general
sense of tube, hollow cylinder, which is expressed in
French by *tuyau* and in German by *röhre* (from *rohr*,
reed).   This sense appears already in Anglo-Saxon

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[1] Also into the other Teutonic languages, e.g. Dutch *pijp*. Old
Norse *pipa*.

[2] German also has *pfeife*, large cask, our *pipe* (of port) ; cf.
Fr. *pipe*, It. *pippa*, Sp. *pipa*. This sense-development, from
hollow cylinder to cask, points to a time when casks were made
from hollowed-out trunks.   Cf. Fr. *fût*, cask, lit. tree-trunk.

and has ramified in an extraordinary way. The various tubular metamorphoses of *pipe* are, with one exception, easy to trace. The exception is the " Pipe Rolls," the great Exchequer Rolls, in which are summarized the " pipes," or accounts, of the sheriffs and others. We have these Rolls preserved from the 12th century onward, and *pipe*, an account, is well recorded in the Anglo-French legal language. Bacon gives a figurative explanation of " that office of Her Majesty's Exchequer, which we, by a metaphor, do call the pipe, because the whole receipt is finally conveyed into it by means of divers small pipes or quills." But neither metaphor nor drainage had, in the 12th century, attained the refinement which would have made such a figure possible. It is more likely that we have here one more of the innumerable senses of *pipe*, cylinder, which might be easily and naturally applied to a rolled-up parchment.

Combining the musical and tubular senses is the application of *pipe* to the throat or windpipe. We can still speak of a singer as having a " sweet pipe," and sporting-men apply the name " pipe-opener " to the burst of speed which gets the lungs into going order before the race. *Whistle* is used similarly of the throat, and the expression " to wet one's whistle " is as old as Chaucer (A. 4155).

Plot

The accepted meaning of a word may be definitely fixed by an historical event. This has happened to *plot*, the current use of which dates from " Gunpowder treason and plot." The oldest sense of the word appears to be a piece of ground. It is recorded once only in Anglo-Saxon, in a passage,

from a " charm " of the 11th century, in which it appears to have been rather dragged in for the sake of alliteration : " Ne plot ne ploh, ne turf ne toft, ne furh ne fotmæl, ne land ne læse," which may be rendered, " Neither plot nor plough, neither turf nor toft, neither furrow nor foot-measure, neither land nor pasture."

The word does not reappear till the 14th century, after which it is fairly common in the general sense of patch, portion of any surface. By the 16th century it has come to mean ground-plan, sketch or outline of a literary work, senses which still survive. Later in the 16th century it is used for scheme, not necessarily nefarious, though sometimes with such suggestion. Spenser speaks of " divers good plottes devised and wise counsells cast alleready about reformation of that realme " (Present State of Ireland).

Although Shakespeare's use of the word generally suggests cunning and intrigue—

> Know, worthy prince, Sir Valentine, my friend,
> This night intends to steal away your daughter ;
> Myself am one made privy to the plot.
> > (Two Gentlemen of Verona, iii, 1)—

he does not, so far as I know, use it in the purely political sense. For this he has *complot*, introduced from French in the 16th century. Thus Bolingbroke, accusing Mowbray, says :

> All the treasons, for these eighteen years
> Complotted and contrived in this land,
> Fetch'd from false Mowbray their first head and spring.
> > (Richard II, i, 1.)

So our word *plot*, established in the political sense at the time of Guy Fawkes, may be regarded as a blend of the older *plot* and the more newly borrowed *complot*.

Before discussing the etymology of these words, a curious variation in pronunciation has to be noted. For "*plot* of ground" we often find *plat*, e.g., in the Authorized Version, " Now therefore take and cast him into the plat [Tyndale *plott*] of ground, according to the word of the Lord " (2 Kings ix. 26). This has been explained as due to the unrelated word *plat*, flat surface, as in " plat of the sword " (Fr. *plat de l'épée*), a phrase used by Chaucer, and there is no doubt something in this theory. But there was a general tendency in later Mid. English and in Tudor times to confuse the two sounds. Queen Elizabeth wrote *stap* for *stop*, anticipating by a century and a half Lord Foppington's " Stap my vitals ! " Sylvester, in 1592, rimes *wrap* and *shop*. Mary Queen of Scots writes to Babington (July 17, 1586), " This is the platt which I finde best for this enterprise," and, according to contemporary evidence, Titus Oates, a century later, regularly brayed about the *plaat* he had discovered. The form *strap* has, except in the language of the barber, completely replaced the older and correct *strop*,[1] and we have preserved, as a euphemism, the *Gad* which was once a common variant pronunciation of *God*. For *platform*, Fr. *plate-forme*, lit. flat form, i.e. plane figure, we often find *plotform*, and, as this was originally used in its proper sense of ground-plan, scheme, it was no doubt mentally associated with *plat* and *plot*. Shakespeare makes Joan of Arc say :

> And now there rests no other shift but this,
> To gather our soldiers scatter'd and dispers'd
> And lay new platforms to endamage them.
>
> (1 Henry VI, ii, 1.)

[1] Anglo-Saxon, from Lat. *struppus*.

A little later we find, in the old play of Grim the Collier, " A sudden plotform comes into my mind." Finally our *platoon,* revived as a military word during the World War, from Fr. *peloton,* a small company, was commonly written *plotoon* in the 16th century.

For the etymology of *plot* the Oxford Dictionary gives only the rather doubtful Anglo-Saxon word mentioned on p. 94. But, as this has no Teutonic congeners, it is probably a borrowed word. In my opinion it is Fr. *pelote,* which now means most usually a ball [1] (of thread, snow, etc.) or a pin-cushion. In Old and Modern French it is also used of any close aggregation or compact mass, whether of persons or things. From the sense of clod would easily develop that of ground (the same transition is seen in *glebe,* from Lat. *gleba,* clod), with which the English history of the word starts. Its etymology is Vulgar Lat. *pilotta,* from *pila,* ball, and it has parallel forms in the other Romance languages.

Complot had a similar sense in Old French, its earliest occurrence (12th century) being in reference to a knot or bunch of people, a sort of *peloton* (v.s.). I conjecture that *complot* and Old Fr. *complote* are of similar origin to *pelote,* and that they represent Vulgar Lat. *compilottum* and *compilotta,* something " balled " together. The sense of conspiracy is evolved naturally from that of a closely associated group of people.

When we say that " the plot thickens," we have a mental image of intrigue becoming more complicated or of mystery becoming more dense. I should very much like to know the original meaning of this phrase, for which the Oxford Dictionary has no record earlier

[1] Also the ball, Sp. *pelota,* used in the famous Basque game.

than 1671, and only in the now accepted sense. I conjecture a development like that of French " la pelote se grossit," lit. the snowball gets bigger, now used only figuratively : " *La pelote se grossit* se dit de projets, d'intérêts, de ressentiments qui s'accumulent, par comparaison avec la pelote de neige qui se grossit en roulant " (Littré). The correspondence of this phrase with the unexplained " plot thickens " seems to me a strong argument for the ultimate identity of *plot* and *pelote*.[1]

Protocol

The first *protocol* I remember was that communicated to Turkey by Russia in 1878. The refusal by Turkey of the demands formulated in the document led to the Russo-Turkish War, into which this country, violently Turcophil at the time, nearly made a dramatic entrance to the tune of " We don't want to fight, but, by jingo, if we do." Just now (March 1925) the " Geneva Protocol," with its suggestions for enforcing the will of the League of Nations, is a chief matter of comment by the more serious newspapers. The modern sense of the word was developed in French, and its adoption by so many other countries is due to the fact that, since the Peace of Nymwegen (1678), French has been the recognized diplomatic language of Europe.

Protocole is quite an ancient word in French, which took it from Med. Lat. *protocollum*. This is Gr. πρωτόκολλον, a leaf glued to the case of a manuscript to indicate its contents, from πρῶτος, first, and κόλλα, glue. It has never been a legal or administrative

[1] The mute *e* would automatically disappear in English ; cf. *plush*, Fr. *peluche*.

word in English, though recorded from the 16th century onward, being used only in connection with foreign diplomacy.

The French meanings of the word are rather numerous. It is the name of any kind of stereotyped form according to which legal or diplomatic documents have to be drawn up, and, in connection with a conference, it means both the verbal report of the resolutions passed and the resolutions themselves. But its quaintest development, one that has not passed into English, is its application to the whole body of rules governing every detail of the elaborate etiquette to be observed by a monarch or president in public ceremonies or in his relations with the representatives of other Powers. The Republican " chef du proto- cole " is the democratic reincarnation of our old friend, the Master of the Ceremonies.

Punch

Punchinello came to us at the Restoration. He was introduced by an Italian puppet-player, who no doubt felt that a country just escaped from a long Puritan régime might respond readily to brightening efforts. In the old Neapolitan puppet-play, *Polle- cinella* is a clumsy and cowardly peasant of grotesque appearance, with a trick of blurting out unpleasant truths. It is this aspect of his character that is reflected in the French " secret de Polichinelle," a secret which is really a matter of common knowledge. In England *Punchinello* gradually developed into the " merry outlaw," whose unfailing triumph over all his enemies has given us the phrase " as pleased as Punch." Judy does not appear under that name

till the 19th century. Steele writes in the Tatler of "Punch and his wife," and Scott, in the first chapter of the Bride of Lammermoor, mentions "Punch and his wife Joan."

As to the origin of the name, we find the usual crop of anecdotes, but the truth seems to be that *pollecinella* is the Neapolitan form of It. *pulcinella*,[1] a chicken. This word was also applied at Naples to the young turkey-cock, whose beak the mask of the puppet resembled.

Our great authority for *Punchinello* is Mr. Pepys, who frequented the new entertainment with real enthusiasm. He refers to it as the "Puppet-play" on Oct. 8, 1662. A few years later the name was well established : "By coach to Moorefields, and there saw Polichinello, which pleases me mightily" (Aug. 22, 1666) ; "Thence away to Polichinello, and there had three times more sport than at the play" (April 9, 1667) ; "Thence to the fayre, and saw Polichinelle" (Aug. 31, 1668). One cannot help thinking that the diarist recognized a kindred spirit in the cheerful reprobate and some suggestion of his own connubial existence ("my wife, poor wretch !") in the revelations of Mr. Punch's home life.

The name was almost at once corrupted to *Punchinello*, a form also used by Pepys, and then inevitably shortened to *Punch*. In a very short time it became a London colloquialism for a stumpy, thick-set figure. On April 20, 1669, Pepys has some account of a new gun "which, from the shortness and bigness, they do call Punchinello," and then, ten days later : "Staying

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[1] A diminutive of *pulcina* ; cf. Fr. *poussin*, a chick. The ultimate origin (cf. Fr. *poule*, Eng. *pullet*, *poultry*) is Lat. *pullus*, *pulla*, young of animals, especially birds.

among poor people there in the alley, did hear them call their fat child Punch, which pleased me mightily, that word being become a word of common use for all that is thick and short " (April 30, 1669).

The Dictionary of the Canting Crew (c. 1690) has "*punch :* a thick short man; *punch nag :* a short, thick, fat, squat, strong horse." As late as 1820 Washington Irving, in his Sketch-Book, described Garrick as " a short, punch man " ; but it was especially to horses that the epithet was applied, to be monopolized eventually by one special breed, the " Suffolk punch."

Quince

In studying the names of fruits we are struck by the debt owed by the Teutons to the Romans, Greeks, and still more remote nations. The Anglo-Saxons, like other German tribes, possessed as native fruit-names only the *apple* and the *berry*. Any new fruit became one or the other. Thus the earliest English name for the *quince* is *cod-æppel*, of which more anon. Early folk-etymology made this into *god-æppel*, which shows a proper appreciation of this excellent, but neglected, fruit.

A common linguistic phenomenon is the conversion of a plural into a singular.[1] *Quince* is for *quins*, the plural of Mid. Eng. *quin*, just as *lettuce* is from the plural of Fr. *laitue*, Lat. *lactuca*. This occurs most frequently in the case of words that are naturally spoken of collectively. More usual in English is the evolution of a false " singular " from a word ending in a sibilant, as in *pea* from *pease*, the rustic *corp* from

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[1] Cf. Fr. *lèvre*, lip, from Lat. *labra*, pair of lips.

corpse, and, in Essex, even *varico vein*. *Cherry* is formed in this way from Mid. Eng. *cheris*, which is Northern Fr. *cherise* for *cerise*.

The *quince* is Fr. *coing*, Old Fr. *coin*, whence Mid. Eng. *coyn*, of which *quin* or *quine* is a variant. Dutch *kwee* (earlier *quede*) and Ger. *quitte* (Old High Ger. *chutina*) are early loans from Vulgar or Late Latin. These names, with Prov. *codoing*, It. *codogna*, Lat. *cotoneum* (Pliny) and *cydonium* [1] (Martial), Gr. κυδώνιον, are all generally referred to Cydonia or Κυδωνέα, now Canea, in Crete, from which the fruit is supposed to have come. The Med. Latin name is *pomum* (or *malum*) *cotoneum*.

Popular speech has at all times had a penchant for connecting names with places. Thus the old fabric called *paduasoy*, Old Fr. *poult de soie*, owes its form to an imaginary connection with Padua, and the trade of the *mantua-maker* brings Fr. *manteau* into unwarranted contiguity with Mantua. Isidore of Seville's remark that " multæ arbores nomina ·ex provinciis vel civitatibus, de quibus adlatæ sunt, acceperunt " is perfectly true, but etymologists are apt to use this truth as an excuse for wild guesses (cf. Johnson's conjectural derivation of *sedan-chair*). *Warden pear* (see p. 84) has even been derived from Old Warden in Bedfordshire, because " the arms of Warden Abbey were argent, three wardon-pears, or." These are, of course, " canting " arms, all the more suitable if *wardens* were a characteristic crop in the neighbourhood. I have recently seen in some newspaper a reproduction of the arms assumed by Admiral Sir Roger Keyes, viz. three massive " keys," doubly

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[1] Another Latin name was *melimalum*, honey apple, whence, through Portuguese, our *marmalade*

appropriate to the commander of the Dover patrol, which held the keys of the Channel during the War.

The connection of *quince* with Cydonia in Crete goes back even to the Greeks, who called the fruit κυδώνιον μᾶλον. But the oldest Greek name was apparently κοδύμαλον, with which cf. the Anglo-Saxon name mentioned at the beginning of this article, and, in all probability, the κοδυ stands for some Asiatic name for the fruit, to which the Greeks, like the Anglo-Saxons, added their own name for apple.

Cherry illustrates the same process. The Latin for a cherry is *cerasum*, from Gr. κεράσος, cherry-tree. According to Pliny the fruit was first brought by the Roman warrior and epicure Lucullus from a place called Cerasus in Pontus. So also Isidore: " Lucullus cum Cerasum civitatem Ponti delesset, hoc genus pomi inde advexit et a civitate ' cerasium ' appellavit. Arbor autem ' cerasus,' pomum ' cerasium ' dicitur. Hoc etiam ante Lucullum erat in Italia, sed durum; unde et cornum [1] appellatum est." Although classical philologists are not agreed, it seems natural to connect *cornus* and κεράσος with Lat. *cornu*, horn, and Gr. κέρας, horn, respectively. This would suit the smooth appearance of the bark (cf. hornbeam). If the cherry flourishes, or ever did flourish, at Cerasus, the place was probably named from the tree.

The European forms of *cherry* show that it represents a Vulgar Lat. *ceresia*, probably a neuter plural gradually becoming a feminine singular collective.[2] The Teutonic forms, viz. Anglo-Sax. *cyrs* (replaced by the French word), Dutch *kers*, Ger. *kirsche*, were

[1] The fruit of the cornel-tree.
[2] Cf. other names of fruits, e.g. Fr. *pomme* (fem.), from Lat. *poma*, pl. of *pomum*, *prune* (fem.) from *pruna*, pl. of *prunum*.

not borrowed from the Romance languages, but directly from Latin, and at a very early date, as is shown by their preservation of the classical c- (see p. 119, n.).

A third instance of an erroneous popular etymology is that which connects *chestnut* with another Pontic town, Castana, or with the Thessalian Castanæa. Gr. καστανέα, whence Lat. *castanea*, Fr. *châtaigne* (Old Fr. *chastaigne*), It. *castagna*, Sp. *castaña*, Anglo-Sax. *cisten-bēam*, chestnut-tree, archaic Ger. *kesten-baum* (replaced by *castanienbaum*), is probably from Armenian *kaskeni*, chestnut-tree, and the places mentioned above were named in the same way as Cerasus. *Chestnut* is pleonastic for Mid. Eng. *chesten*, a chestnut, Old Fr. *chastaigne*.

Raid

No writer ever disinterred so many good old words as Scott. Some of his trouvailles have never found general acceptance ; others belong to Wardour Street, and a few are odd blunders or ghost-words, due to his misunderstanding his authorities. But a considerable proportion of the words he revived have become an inseparable element of the poetic and picturesque vocabulary, from which some have passed into every-day speech. Among these is *raid*.

It is the Scottish form of Anglo-Sax. *rād*, riding,[1] cognate with the verb to *ride*, and, as we should expect, is chiefly recorded in connection with the moss-troopers of the Border. In Mid. English *rād* became *rode*, now *road*, which had the sense now taken over by its northern doublet. In 1481 Edward IV speaks, in a royal proclamation, of " a rode made uppon the Scottes at thende of this last somer within

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[1] Cf. Fr. *chevauchée*, used historically in exactly the same way.

their grounde by oure Brother of Gloucestre." This
sense of *road* survived up to the 17th century, after
which it was expressed by the compound *inroad*.

The meaning we now generally attach to *road*, as in
" Oxford Road," is first recorded in Shakespeare, who
makes a carrier complain that his inn at Rochester is
" the most villainous house in all London Road for
fleas " (1 Henry IV, ii, 1).

Raid, a mounted incursion, is not recorded by the
Oxford Dictionary between Pitscottie's Chronicle of
Scotland (c. 1578) and Scott's Lay of the Last Minstrel
(1805). Of William of Deloraine, a " stark moss-
trooping Scot," we are told that—

> In raids he spilt but seldom blood,
> Unless when men-at-arms withstood,
> Or, as was meet, for deadly feud.
>
> (Lay, v, 28.)

Moss-trooper is another of Scott's revivals, but,
while this word is still confined to romance and history,
raid has become part of our working vocabulary.

In the latter part of the 19th century it came into
general use in connection with descents of the police
on gambling hells, coiners' dens, etc., and " raiding
the sinking fund " became a recognized device of a
perplexed Chancellor of the Exchequer. The War
gave a new meaning to the word. I do not know what
journalist first used " air-raid " of the attacks made
by the Zeppelins on the civilian population, but I have
a note to the effect that this compound is of about
the same date as the epithet " baby-killer," applied
(December 1914) to the naval heroes who bombarded
Scarborough.

When air-raids on London began to be really un-
pleasant, a large proportion of the alien population

took to evacuating the capital, as soon as the evening shades prevailed, and camping in the villages of the home counties, where they were commonly known as "raiders." The inhabitants of one village, stricken with compassion at a first invasion, but unable, for many reasons, to offer house-room to the "raiders," provided them with all they could spare in the way of tents, rugs, and mattresses. When they arose in the morning, they found that their visitors had folded their tents like the Arabs and silently stolen away, transitively as well as intransitively.

Rile

When Mr. Peggotty visited David Copperfield at school, he brought with him a canvas bag of shrimps "biled" by Mrs. Gummidge: "' The old mawther biled 'em. Yes,' said Mr. Peggotty, slowly, who I thought appeared to stick to the subject on account of having no other subject ready, ' Mrs. Gummidge, I do assure you, she biled 'em.' "

Mr. Peggotty was not educated. But what about Pope ?

> And middle natures, how they long to join,
> Yet never pass, the insuperable line.
>
> (Essay on Man.)

The moral is that we should not be too ready to call an old-fashioned pronunciation uneducated.

The substitution of *i* for *oi* is especially common in the colloquial language of the United States, which often preserves older pronunciations now regarded in England as provincial. The earliest successful prospectors for petroleum did not strike *oil*, but *ile*, and Mr. Moody, of Moody and Sankey fame, habitually said *pison* for *poison*.

8

The verb to *roil* originally meant to make (water) turbid, e.g. " The lamb down stream roiled the wolf's water above " (North's Examen, 1740). It is well recorded in this sense from the 16th century, and also figuratively, of disturbing the temper. In the latter sense it is now practically superseded, both in England and America, by *rile*. Both forms are still found in English dialect, in which the older literal sense also survives. The Oxford Dictionary does not solve the etymology of the word, which is, however, quite simple. It is Fr. *rouiller*, to rust, which in Old French also meant to make muddy. This becomes Eng. *roil*, as inevitably as *bouillir* becomes *boil* or *souiller* becomes *soil*. Old Fr. *rouil*, rust, figuratively mud, represents a Vulgar Lat. *rubiculum*, used for the classical *rubigo*, from *ruber*, red.

Robot

Since the successful production in London, in 1923, of Karel Čapek's play, R.U.R. (Rossum's Universal Robots), the word *robot*, in the sense of mechanical slave, has begun to appear pretty frequently in the newspaper and in the works of our younger and smarter novelists. A new word is always worth catching and ticketing. In this case there is no difficulty. The Czech word for work is *robota*, cognate with Old Slav. *rab*, *rob*, slave, which survives as *rab* in Modern Russian. But the relations and sense-development of the word throw a little light, as in fact most words do, on human nature and human history.

Work may be considered under two aspects. According to Carlyle, " Blessed is the man who has

found his work ; let him ask no other blessedness,"
while the refrain of the Song of a Shirt turns the same
word almost into a dirge—" Work, work, work ! "
The distinction is really between the work that is
congenial or remunerative, and that which is dull or
ill-requited. The first is *opus*, the second is *labor*, to
which we will recur later.

According to Kluge, *robot* has existed in German
since the 15th century in the sense of *frondienst*, i.e.
serf labour, corvée. It no doubt came into the
language with the subjugation of some Slavonic
race.[1]

The German word corresponding in general to our
work is *arbeit*. This is found in all the Teutonic
languages, e.g. Anglo-Sax. *earfethe*, Dutch *arbeid*,
Old Norse *erfithe*, Goth. *arbaiths*, and the oldest
meaning of all these words is not ordinary work,
but laborious toil,[2] or, more frequently, oppression,
affliction, distress. The Nibelungenlied begins—

> Uns ist in alten mæren wunders vil geseit
> Von heleden lobebæren, von grozer arebeit.[3]

The sinister connotation of the word is due, not only
to the natural human preference for short hours and
long wages, but also to the nature of the work origin-
ally described as *arbeit*. *Arbeit* is a compound of a
prehistoric Teutonic name for a serf, cognate with the

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[1] Cf. the history of *slave*, lit. Slavonian, or of Anglo-Sax. *wealh*,
slave, lit. Welshman, Briton.

[2] *Toil* also originally meant struggle, suffering. Its few occur-
rences in the Authorized Version render the *labor*, *laborare*, of the
Vulgate. In the corresponding Gothic passages Ulfila has *arbaiths*.

[3] In old legends many wonders are told us of praiseworthy
heroes, of great " toil and trouble."

Old Slav. *rab, rob*, from which *robot* is derived. Its original sense was slavery.

Whether the *lab* of Lat. *labor* is ultimately identical with the *arb* of *arbeit* is an unsettled question, but the sense-history of the two words is curiously similar. *Labor* starts from the idea of oppression, perhaps originally that of staggering under a burden. Cooper (1573) renders it by " labour, travaile, perill, daunger, calamitie, trouble," and Æneas uses it in the very sense of the *arbeit* of the Nibelungenlied, when he asks Achates, " Quæ regio in terris nostri non plena laboris ? "

If we pursue the subject further, we find that *toil* once meant dispute, turmoil. The modern *toiler* would hardly recognize himself in the Old Fr. *touilleur*,[1] " a polipragmon, filthie medler, shuffling or troublesome fellow, one that marres things by a beastlie mingling of them " (Cotgrave). In Scots we find *tulzie*,[2] *tuilyie*, a mêlée, scrimmage. Fr. *travail*, work, of uncertain etymology,, was originally an instrument of torture, and is still used of a farrier's device for keeping vicious horses still. It has given us both the obstetric *travail* (cf. the synonymous *labour*) and also *travel*, once a most exhausting physical experience.

The conclusion of the whole matter is that man's attitude towards the doom incurred by his first parents has never been one of real enthusiasm.

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[1] Old Fr. *touiller*, " filthily to mix, or mingle, confound, or shuffle together ; to intangle, trouble, or pester by scurvie medling ; also, to bedirt, begrime, besmeare, smeech, beray " (Cotgrave), probably represents a Vulgar Lat. *tuduculare*, from *tudicula*, a pestle for pounding olives, from *tundere, tutud-*, to belabour.

[2] Pronounced *tooly*. The *z* is a printer's substitution for the obsolete letter with a *y* sound ; cf. *Mackenzie, Menzies, Dalziel*, etc.

Rummage

The curious change in the meaning of this word [1] is noted by Trench in his Select Glossary : " It is a sea-term, and signified at first to dispose with such orderly methods goods in the hold of a ship that there should be the greatest possible room, or ' roomage.' " The implied etymology, from *room*, is given by most dictionaries, e.g. in the last edition of Skeat [2] (1910). This etymology is ultimately correct, but there is a good deal of word-history between the Teutonic word for space and the modern *rummage*.

In a paper read to the Philological Society in 1909, I pointed out that *rummage* was originally a noun, not formed in English from *room*, but representing the synonymous Fr. *arrumage*, now generally superseded by *arrimage*. This view is adopted by the Oxford Dictionary, which defines *rummage* as " the arranging of casks, etc., in the hold of a ship," with an example (*romage*) for 1526. This leaves two questions undecided, viz. the reason why nautical English should have borrowed this French word, and the etymology of the latter. It seems also to have survived among sailors much later than appears from the Oxford Dictionary records, e.g. Lescallier (1777) has " *to rummage*

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[1] This change is well illustrated by the definition in Phillips' New World of Words (1678) : " *Rumidge*, in navigation, is to remove goods or luggage out of a ship's howld ; whence it is also used upon other occasions." Here the original sense is already reversed. This reversal of meaning also appears in Skinner's Etymologicon Linguæ Anglicanæ (1671) : " To *rummage* or *rume* goods, vox nautica, significat autem bona præsertim in fundo navis removere." The current sense is partly due to Custom House vigilance. The nautical use of the word appears in " rummage sale," originally sale of unclaimed goods at the docks.

[2] But corrected in the Concise edition of 1911.

the hold : changer l'arrimage," in which the idea of moving things about also appears.

Medieval England drank proportionately much more wine than modern England. So considerable was the wine-trade that a special import called *tunnage* (surviving in the historical " tonnage and poundage "), levied on every tun of wine, formed an important part of the royal revenue. Most of the wine came from Bordeaux, and it was from Bordeaux that we borrowed a word originally used in the specific sense of stowing casks in a ship's hold. According to Furetière's Dictionnaire Universel (1727), " On dit qu'un vaisseau est mal *arrumé*, lorsqu'il n'est pas à son plomb qui le fait tenir droit sur bout ; car alors les poinsons[1] se déplacent, courent et roulent vers la pente et du heurt s'enfoncent les uns les autres, ce qui cause de grands coulages. *Arrumeurs* sont de petits officiers établis sur les ports, et surtout en Guyenne, que le marchand chargeur doit fournir et payer, qui ont soin de placer et de ranger les marchandises dans un vaisseau, et surtout celles qui sont en tonneaux, et qui sont en danger de coulage."[2] Thus, *rummage* comes from Bordeaux, and contains a scrap of commercial history. It is also, as I shall show, some centuries older than the Oxford Dictionary's first record.

The Modern French word is *arrimer*, of unknown, or very uncertain, origin. This word, recorded in 14th-century French, might easily become *arrumer*, because there is a tendency for an unstressed " front " vowel to become "rounded " when in contact with a labial consonant. A good example is *fumier*, dung,

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[1] Mod. *poinçon*, puncheon.

[2] This is partly taken from Cleirac's Us et Coutumes de la Mer 1634).

manure, Old Fr. *femier*, Lat. *fimarium* ; cf. also *jumeau*, twin, Old Fr. *gemeau*, Lat. *gemellus*, diminutive of *geminus*. But it is hardly possible for *arrumer* to become *arrimer*, although the two words have no doubt been confused. Apparently they are of quite separate origin, and, so far as records go, *arrumer*, in the nautical sense, is the older. The corresponding Spanish and Portuguese verb is *arrumar*.

Cotgrave (1611) has *arruner*, " to ranke, sort, range, dispose, put in order, set in array." This form, with -*n*- for -*m*-, also recorded by Oudin (1660), and occurring early in Old French in the general sense of arranging, is important, for it shows that the key-word we are seeking was spelt both *rum* and *run*. This word is archaic Fr. *rum*, " the hole, or hold, of a ship " (Cotgrave). In Old French monosyllables ending in -*m* were commonly spelt with -*n*, e.g. *rien* is Lat. *rem*, accusative of *res*, a thing. Accordingly we find *rum* and *run* (also *reum* and *reun*) used indifferently in Old French for room, space, hold of ship. Falconer (1769) gives *rum* as equivalent to *cale*, the modern word for hold,[1] and Romme (1792) records it as an archaic word : " *Rum* ou *reum :* ce mot peu usité est quelquefois employé pour exprimer la capacité intérieure ou la contenance de la cale d'un vaisseau, c'est-à-dire, l'espace qu'elle offre pour l'emplacement des marchandises dont on peut composer le chargement de ce bâtiment. Un vaisseau qui a une cale vaste est dit être d'un grand reum."

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[1] Also in " *donner rum à une roche :* to give a good birth to, or keep aloof from, any rock, etc." Much earlier (1415), in an " ordonnance " for traffic on the Seine, we read that " les bateliers garderont run l'un envers l'autre," i.e. will keep proper space between their boats. With these examples cf. the use of *room*, space, sea-room, in nautical English.

It is clear that from this *rum* or *run* could be formed a verb *arrumer* or *arruner*, to adapt the cargo to the capacity of the hold (cf. *arranger*, from *rang*, rank). The original source is, I conjecture, Teutonic, but whether it is Eng. *room* (Anglo-Sax. *rūm*), Dutch *ruim*, Ger. *raum* (Old High Ger. *rūm*), Old Norse *rūm* (whence *rum* in Danish and Swedish), or Goth. *rūm*, cannot be decided. *Raum* or *schiffsraum* is the usual modern German for hold, but it is not necessary to suppose that *arrumer*, *arruner* was originally limited to nautical use. The sea sense would easily arise out of that of arrangement in general.

Rummage, as we have seen, is first recorded by the Oxford Dictionary for 1526, but copious records of *rumagium*, *runagium* in Med. Latin point to its having been a familiar word in Mid. English, e.g. "Ad ducendum dicta dolia usque navem et pro runagio dictorum doliorum"[1] (Earl of Derby's Expedition, 1390–3). The medieval examples are all connected with casks. The earliest I have found is in some royal accounts of Edward II (c. 1320). Unfortunately I have mislaid the Anglo-Latin text, but the item deals with the transport of forty casks of wine from Lostwithiel to Fowey, and mentions (1) the rollage from the merchant's cellar to the water-side, (2) the towage by water, (3) the gyndage,[2] i.e. hoisting on board, (4) the rummage (*rumagium*) in the hold. If "Latin" *rumagium* could be thus used, c. 1320, *rummage* must have been already a familiar word in nautical English. In fact, its use must go back to the beginnings of the wine-trade with Bordeaux.

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[1] For bringing the said casks to the ship and for the stowing of the said casks.

[2] From Fr. *guinder*, to hoist; cf. *guindas*, windlass.

Sedan-chair

The traffic problem is not new. In 1631 the authorities of Blackfriars complained to the Privy Council that " persons of honour and quality in the parish are retained by the number of coaches from going out or coming home in a seasonable time, to the prejudice of their occasions." In 1636 Henry Peacham, the author of The Compleat Gentleman, published a small book with the title, " Coach and Sedan, pleasantly disputing for place and precedence : the Brewers-cart being moderator." [1] It was probably in 1634 that the use of the *sedan* became common in London. In that year Sir Sanders Duncombe was granted a fourteen years' monopoly for " covered chairs called sedans." Peter Mundy, the traveller, speaks (1637) of " sidans att London." That the unfamiliar word took some years to become general appears from a quotation of 1640 : " Then the Dutch younker took her up into a (what doe you call it ?) a sedan, and away they went " (Glapthorne, The Hollander, v, 1).

The compound *sedan-chair* is not recorded till 1750. It will be remembered that, when Mr. Pickwick, arrested for contemplating a duel, refused to walk through the streets of Ipswich in custody, " It was recollected that there stood in the inn-yard an old sedan-chair, which, having been originally built for a gouty gentleman with funded property, would hold Mr. Pickwick and Mr. Tupman." Perhaps the last *sedan-chair* to see active service in England was one kept at Bury St. Edmunds, which was still used,

[1] Reprinted (1925) by Etchells and Macdonald.

in the last decade of the 19th century, to convey young ladies to dances on wet nights.

The origin of the word *sedan* is quite unknown. Johnson, of course, says, " From Latin *sedes*, a seat," though, in a later edition (1773), appears the absurd guess, " I believe because first made at Sedan," which dictionaries have conscientiously, or unconscientiously, copied down to the present day.[1] The Nomenclator Octilinguis of Adrianus Junius (1602) gives the equivalents in all the civilized European languages. None of these bears the slightest resemblance to *sedan*. Evelyn, describing Naples as it appeared to him in 1645, says, " They greatly affect the Spanish gravity in their habit ; delight in good horses ; the streets are full of gallants on horseback, in coaches and sedans, from hence brought first into England by Sir Sanders Duncombe."

This is, however, not quite accurate. The first *sedans* reached England from Spain. They were presented to Prince Charles (afterwards Charles I) by the Spanish minister, Olivarez.[2] It was Sir Sanders Duncombe who turned them into a business proposition.

Sergeant

A Jock with whom I lately had some conversation in a Scotch express informed me that his sergeant-major's invariable form of greeting to the new recruit was, " Nae doot ye've broke your mither's hairt, but ye'll no break mine." This formidable person was once, incredible though it may seem to those who

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[1] I except, of course, the Oxford Dictionary, which describes *sedan* as " of obscure origin."

[2] See J. Holden Macmichael, in the Gentleman's Magazine, October 1904.

have served, even more important than he is now. In the 16th century he was a commissioned officer, with approximately the functions of the modern major and adjutant. Higher still in rank was the sergeant-major-general, now shortened to major-general.

In my Romance of Words I have touched on the rise in the world of the title *marshal*, which, from its original sense of horse-knave, has come to connote the highest rank in the army. The title had a wide variety of senses in the Middle Ages, a fact which accounts for the very common occurrence of the surname *Marshall*. The history of *sergeant* is equally complicated.

Fr. *sergent* is derived from Lat. *serviens, servientem,* and thus simply means servant. In the oldest French it is regularly used in this sense, also figuratively in the description of the King of France as *li sergenz Dieu*, i.e. " God's servant." This is also its oldest meaning in English (c. 1200), still surviving, historically, in the royal " Sergeant of the Cellar, of the Larder," etc., with which we may compare the similar use of " Yeoman of the Buttery," " Groom of the Stole," etc. But early in Old French it came to mean a fully-armed fighting man, a sense also recorded in English c. 1300, often with special reference to a form of tenure and the military obligations involved. The *sergeant* appears to have been about equal to an esquire, with whom he is often coupled. Hence the form of feudal tenure known as " grand and petty sergeanty."

Of about the same date is the application of the name to an officer of the law. In 1 Sam. xxix. 14, 20, where the Vulgate has *lictores* and *apparitores*, Wyclif

has *sergeauntis* and *cachepollis*. It is in this sense of
the word that Hamlet says, " This fell sergeant,
death, is strict in his arrest." *Sergent* has kept
this meaning in French, especially in the " sergent
de ville," or policeman, whom an English super-
stition persists in calling a " gendarme." A dignified
English survivor of the class is the " Sergeant-at-
Arms," who is still occasionally summoned by the
Speaker when the chosen of the people become
obstreperous.

Equally old is the application of the name to a
superior order of barristers, the " Serjeants-at-Law "
(*servientes ad legem*), from whom, till 1873, the Common
Law judges were chosen. Everyone remembers
Chaucer's " sergeant of the lawe, war and wys." In
modern times it has become a convention to spell
the word *serjeant* in the legal sense. No more serjeants-
at-law were appointed after 1880, and I have a note
to the effect that the last of them was Lord Lindley,
Master of the Rolls († 1921), but, according to the
Daily News for March 30, 1925, " Serjeant Sullivan,
K.C., is the last of those picturesque figures; the old
serjeants-at-law." A special élite of this class had the
title " King's (Queen's) Serjeant," and the " Common
Serjeant " (at law) is still the judicial helper of the
City Recorder.

The current military use of *sergeant* dates from the
16th century, the period when gunpowder had brought
about a complete change in tactics and a consequent
transformation of army organization. It belongs to
the same age as *brigade* and *regiment*, *colonel* and
corporal, etc. Originally, as we have seen, a French
word, it has been adopted, with varying senses, into
the military vocabulary of most European nations.

Skate

William Fitzstephen, who died c. 1190, included in his Life of Becket (Vita Sancti Thomæ) a description of 12th-century London. In it we read : " When that great marsh [1] which washes the walls of the city on the north side is frozen over, the young men go out in crowds to divert themselves upon the ice. Some, having increased their velocity by a run, placing their feet apart and turning their bodies sideways, slide a great way. . . . Others are more expert in their sports upon the ice, fitting to, and binding under their feet, the shinbones of some animal, and taking in their hands poles shod with iron, which at times they strike against the ice, they are carried along with as great rapidity as a bird flying or a bolt discharged from a cross-bow." Such bone skates may still be seen in museums.

The sport of skating seems, however, to have fallen into desuetude, or to have remained so rudimentary as not to attract polite attention. Fynes Morrison, in his Itinerary (1617), speaks of young people " sliding with pattins," and *patten*, Fr. *patin*, skate, apparently from *patte*, paw, is still the fenman's word for skate. Peter Mundy (1642) tells us " Aboutt Dantzig I have seene them slide with a woodden invention, having as it were, an iron keele," but does not use the word *skate*, and the evidence of Evelyn and Pepys goes to show that, in their days, skating was a novelty. The steel-bladed skate and the concomitant elaboration of the exercise came to England with Charles II, who had lived, with his court, in Belgium and Holland from 1655 to 1660.

[1] Moorfields.

Both the great diarists were amazed at the skill of the courtiers. On Dec. 1, 1662, Evelyn saw "the strange and wonderful dexterity of the sliders on the new canal in St. James's Park performed before their Majesties by divers gentlemen and others with skeets, after the manner of the Hollanders." Pepys, walking in the Park on the same day, beheld for the first time in his life "people sliding with their skeates, which is a very pretty art."

The Dutch for a *skate* is *schaats*. When introduced into English it was mistaken for a plural, and a new singular *skeat*, *skeet*, *skate*, resulted. The Dutch word comes from French, and its borrowing is rather odd, as Dutch has, or had, several native names for the contrivance. Kilian (1623) has "*schaverdynen, schuyverdynen, schrickschoenen :* calopodia ferrata quibus nostrates mira celeritate atque dexteritate labuntur per adstrictas glacie aquas." These names seem to mean "skimmer (shaver) -thighs," "shover-thighs," "jump-shoes."[1] The French word itself is of Frisian origin : thus words are bandied backwards and forwards across a frontier.

Dutch *schaats*, skate, formerly also meaning stilt, is from Old North Fr. *escace* or *escache*, of which the normal French form is *échasse*, a stilt, also applied to the long legs of wading birds, and in Old French to a wooden leg. Stilts were also called *scatches* in English, the word, in this case, being borrowed directly from Old French. Cooper (1573) explains Lat. *grallator* as "he that goeth on stiltes or scatches." In Scottish *scatch* appears as *sketch*, more usually *sketcher*, with the sense of skate. Meg Dods, referring

[1] Peter Mundy, at Dantzig (1642), writes, "Some of our hollandish guests wentt over the ice with shrittshoes."

to the artistic efforts of her boarder, says, " I thought sketchers were aye made of airn " (St. Ronan's Well, ch. iii).

The difficulty is to explain how the sense of stilt passed into that of skate. In connection with this it is to be noted that Fr. *patin*, skate (whence also our *patten*, a kind of clog), also meant stilt in Old French. A skate increases the height only slightly. On the other hand it resembles a stilt in increasing the stride. Perhaps the true explanation is that the Old Frisian word borrowed by French originally meant shank-bone or shin-bone (which might easily pass into the sense of stilt), and that its unrecorded history includes the sense of shin-bone used as a primitive skate. The use of " thigh " in the early Dutch names quoted from Kilian points the same way.

Soviet

The Indo-European languages are sometimes divided into the *centum* [1] and *satəm* families, according to their treatment of the initial consonant in the general Indo-European name for 100. If we adopt this division, the Slavonic languages will be grouped with the Asiatic or Indo-Iranian branch of the family. This is illustrated by *soviet*, a Russian compound of which the first element is the prefix *so-*, corresponding to the *co-* of *co-operate*, and thus ultimately identical with Lat. *cum*, *con*, with.

It is curious to reflect that before 1916 hardly one

[1] The initial *c-* was hard (= *k*) in Classical Latin, the result of its later assibilation appearing in its derivatives in the Romance languages.

Englishman in a million had ever heard of a *soviet* or a *bolshevist*, words which now assault the eye in every newspaper that we open. In fact *bolshevist* is already almost replaced by the more affectionate and familiar *bolshy*. There is nothing intrinsically or etymologically unclean in either of these words. Like *disease* (p. 39) they have suffered from mental association.

The *bolsheviki* were originally the majority at the Russian Socialist Conference of 1903, and the word is connected with *bolshintsvo*, majority, from *bolshe*, greater, more. The root does not appear to exist in the Germanic languages. In 1903, and indeed up to 1916, there were also *mensheviki*, members of the minority, from *men'she*, smaller, less, which is cognate with Anglo-Sax. *min*, Ger. *minder*, Lat. *minor*, Gr. μείων, etc. The *menshevists* do not seem to have survived the strenuous propaganda of their opponents.

At the time when these verbal novelties first became known in this country, they were often wrongly rendered by " maximalist " and " minimalist," with a mistaken implication as to their meaning. Another misunderstood term was *cadet*, the name of a Russian party now eliminated. Even modern dictionaries published since the war identify this word with the familiar French and English *cadet*. It is really one of those acrostic political descriptions which have become so numerous of late.[1] It represents a pun on the Russian pronunciation of K.D., i.e. *konstitucionnaya demokratya*. In this connection it may be noted that, except for *bolshevik*, *soviet*, and the less familiar *cheka*, Russian politics seem to be destitute of a native vocabulary.

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[1] Cf. Fr. *cégétiste*, member of the Confédération Générale du Travail (C.G.T.), Russ. *nep* (novaya ekonomicheskaya politika).

Sovjet is an old and respectable word in Russian. Its limitation to the little group of philanthropists whom our advanced politicians love to honour is quite modern. Composed of the prefix *so-* and a root meaning to speak, which appears also in *otvjet*, answer, *privjet*, greeting, it simply means council, and was in common use long before Russia was made safe for democracy. The root of the word is very old in Slavonic, and the name *vietsche* was applied long ago to a kind of ancient Russian national assembly. To Russ. *sovjet* correspond Serbo-Croatian *savjet* and Slovene *svet*.

The same Slavonic prefix is represented in *Sobranje* and *Skupshchina*, the national parliaments of Bulgaria and Serbia. In *Sobranje* the second element is cognate with Russ. *beru*, I gather, assemble, and with Lat. *ferre*, Gr. φέρειν, so that the assembly is, not only in fact, but also etymologically, a " con-ference." *Skupshchina* contains the Old Slav. *kup*, heap, whence Serbo-Croatian *skupiti*, to gather, and this *kup* is a distant cousin of Eng. *heap*, Dutch *hoop*, Ger. *haufen*.

Starvation

Few people who use this word are aware of the fact that it is unique. It is the only word in English in which the suffix *-ation* is added to an Anglo-Saxon stem. The Latin suffix *-atio*, *-ationem*, expressing the result of the action of verbs with a past participle in *-atus*, has given us a very large number of words, e.g. *affirmation*, *negation*, *nation* (*natus*, born), *oration* (*oratus*, spoken, prayed), *ration* (*ratus*, judged, considered), etc. In French the suffix became *-aison*, e.g.

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oraison, raison, whence our *orison, reason.* There are about 1,500 English words ending in *-ation* in modern use. Many others have become obsolete, for, after the Renaissance, the use of the suffix was much extended, and it was often applied incorrectly, a fact noted by 17th-century satirists. The Oxford Dictionary quotes from Thomas Randolph's Amyntas (1638) :

THESTYLIS.   But what languages doe they speake, servant ?

MOPSUS.   Several languages, as cawation, chirpation, hootation, whistleation, crowation, cackleation, shriekation, hissation.

THESTYLIS.   And foolation !

Comparatively modern are such playful formations as *botheration, jobation,* and the financial atrocity *backwardation. Flirtation* is an older word than *starvation,* but *flirt* is of very dubious origin, certainly not Anglo-Saxon.

Starve is Anglo-Sax. *steorfan,* to die (cf. Dutch *sterven,* Ger. *sterben*), the sense of which became limited by the 18th century to a form of death which was only too common in the good old times. Before the year 1775 people might " starve of hunger," but they could not " die of starvation." It was the so frequent occurrence of the phrase (Anglo-Sax. *steorfan of hungor*) which finally led to the elliptical use of *starve.* In 1735 Arbuthnot wrote, " Animals that starve of hunger [1] die feverish and delirious."

On March 6, 1775, there was a debate in the House of Commons on a bill for restricting the trade of the New England colonies. In reply to Thomas Townsend, who had urged the injustice of an act which made

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[1] " Starved with cold," still common in dialect and colloquial speech, was once literary, e.g. it is used by Pope.

no discrimination between the innocent and the guilty, but " starved " all alike, Henry Dundas declared that the bill, which was both just and merciful, had his most hearty approbation, and that, as to the famine which was so pathetically lamented, he was afraid it would not be produced by this act.[1]   The word *starvation* came into existence as a result of this speech, the speaker being nicknamed " Starvation Dundas."

Story

From Lat. *historia*, which is Gr. ἱστορία, from ἵστωρ, learned, wise, a judge, Old French formed *estorie*. This passed into English as *story*, with the usual loss of the unstressed first syllable.   Later on both languages adopted learned forms, *histoire*, *history*. For centuries the two English words, *story*, *history*, existed side by side and were used indifferently. In the 14th-century translation of Higden's Poly-chronicon we read, " Dedes that wolde deie, storye (i.e. history) kepeth hem evermore."   The modern mind is somewhat disconcerted to find a divine like Robert South speaking in a sermon (1684) of " Holy Writ and other stories."   The historical sense still survives more or less poetically in Our Island Story, The Story of Creation, etc., while *history* has often been used of fictitious narrative, e.g. Fielding's Tom Jones, the History of a Foundling.   It is not till the 17th century that *story* definitely assumes the secondary sense of fiction, tale, which by the end of the century passed also into that of fabrication, lie. From the fact that the same fate has overtaken

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[1] See Dictionary of National Biography : Henry Dundas.

Fr. *histoire*, and that *conte*, a tale, etymologically an exact account (Lat. *computus*), is also used for a fib, the moralist might be tempted to draw unfavourable conclusions as to the general standard of human veracity.

So far all is plain sailing, but the problem is to account for *story* acquiring the sense of floor in a building. Skeat derives *story*, in this sense, from the past participle of Old Fr. *estorer*. But, although Old Fr. *estorer* means to build (with about a dozen other meanings, all traceable to Lat. *instaurare*), the only substantival sense of *estoree* was a fleet. This etymology, which originated with Wedgwood, is also completely negatived by the fact that, two centuries before the first occurrence of *story* (of a building), Anglo-Lat. *historia, istoria*, is copiously recorded in the same sense, a fact which shows that the *story* of a house is identical etymologically with the narrative *story*. This use of Med. Lat. *historia* seems to have been peculiar to England. The Oxford Dictionary suggests that the name may have originally been applied to a tier of painted windows or sculptures on the front of a house. This seems plausible, especially when we consider the very ornate character of medieval houses of the better class.

Med. Lat. *historiare* meant to carve or paint, and this use of the English word, as in Milton's " storied windows richly dight " and Gray's " storied urn or animated bust," goes back to the 14th century. The Oxford Dictionary quotes from about the same date " una historia octo fenestrarum," i.e. a pictorial series of eight windows. *Historia* was used, not only of carvings and paintings, but also of tapestry, " pannus figuris intextus " (Du Cange), so that the

sense of floor may have sprung also from the internal decoration (tapestries or frescoes) of the building. Peter Mundy, describing in 1642 the " faire streets of Dantzigh," says, " In these are many faire lofty buildings of brick, outwardly adorned with paintings and windows, and inwardly costly and curious in house furniture, pictures, etts. The seeling and sides off their roomes nettly painted with stories, etts."

Stun

It sometimes happens that a word is introduced from French into English more than once, the difference in date of adoption being reflected both in its form and meaning. Thus Lat. *gentilis*, from *gens*, a race, gave Fr. *gentil*. Adopted early into English, with the usual shifting of accent, this became *gentle*. Reintroduced much later, but before the final of the French word had become silent, it gave *genteel*, with an attempt at preserving the French accentuation. When the French *-l* was lost, it made, in the 17th century, a third appearance as *janty*, *jantee* (now *jaunty*). As *gentilis* is also represented in English by the learned word *Gentile*, we have four separate forms with separate meanings from one original.

The same phenomenon is illustrated by the history of *stun* and its variants. Vulgar Latin formed from the verb *tonare*, to thunder, a compound *extonare*, to express the idea of thunder-striking. This became Old Fr. *estoner* (now *étonner*), which, retaining something of the sense of its Latin original, was used of knocking senseless. Aucassin smote the Count of Valence so vigorously on his helmet that " Il fut si

estonés qu'il caï (= fell) à terre." In later Old French *estoner* meant to daze with noise, and it preserved something of its old sense as late as the 17th century, e.g. Bossuet says of Condé, " On le vit étonner de ses regards étincelants ceux qui échappaient à ses coups."

The Norman form of Old Fr. *estoner* was *estuner*. This gave Eng. *astun*, and, with the usual loss of the first syllable (cf. *tinsel* from *étincelle*), *stun*, in the sense of dazing, physically or mentally. The forms *estouner* and *estoner* also became, retaining the prefix, *astoun* and *aston*. *Astoun* developed a parasitic *-d*, just as Mid. Eng. *soun* (Fr. *son*) has become *sound*, and, in the current form *astound*, has kept much of the original force of the word. German borrowed, through Swiss-French, " *erstaunen :* to stand stunned, aston- ished, amazed, stupified, daunted, perplexed, puzzled, planet-struck, benumbed, surprized or dismayed at a thing " (Ludwig, 1716). For *aston* or *astone* was substituted *astony* (cf. *levy*, Fr. *lever*, *occupy*, Fr. *occuper*, etc.), which, like *astound*, preserved the " stunning " sense till the end of the 16th century. Cooper (1573) defines Lat. *torpedo*, the electric ray or cramp-fish, as " a fish that hath the nature to make the handes of them that touche it to be astonyed, though he doe it with a long pole."

English verbs in *-ish* are derived from French verbs in *-ir*, *-iss-*, e.g. *nourish* from *nourrir*, *nourriss-*. There was a tendency to apply this ending where it was not justified, e.g. we have *distinguish* substituted for older *distingue*, Fr. *distinguer*. So, in the 16th century, *astony*, which is still preserved in the Authorized Version, began to have as a rival *astonish*. Palsgrave has, " I astonysshe with a stroke upon the

head : *jestourdis* (modern *j'étourdis*)." In the Authorized Version *astony* and *astonish* still express a very much stronger emotion than surprise : " The pillars of heaven tremble and are astonished [(Vulgate *pavent*)] at his reproof " (Job xxvi. 11).

The use of *stunning* as an admirative epithet belongs to the age of Dickens and Thackeray. It is characteristic of the Anglo-Saxons that they usually express excellence or size by words descriptive of noise (*thundering, rattling, clinking*) or physical ill-treatment (*ripping, thumping, spanking, strapping, whopping*). In *stunning* the two ideas appear to be combined : " ' Twopence-halfpenny,' says the landlord, ' is the price of the Genuine Stunning ale.'

" ' Then,' says I, producing the money, ' just draw me a glass of the Genuine Stunning, if you please, with a good head on it ' " (David Copperfield, ch. xi).

Superman

In a verbal Chamber of Horrors this atrocity might reasonably claim the pre-eminence accorded to the late Mr. Charles Peace at Madame Tussaud's. It is understood to have been introduced by Mr. Bernard Shaw, in Man and Superman (1903), as a rendering of Nietzsche's *übermensch*, which Lichtenberger had previously adopted in French as *surhomme*. An earlier English coinage was the quite legitimate *overman*, which struggled for some time before it was expelled by the hideous hybrid now current. Students of Mr. H. G. Wells will remember that Mr. George Ponderevo was greatly swayed by what he called " this Overman idea, Nietzsche—all that stuff," and,

as late as September 1914, the Times wrote, " Nietzsche's overman can only be admired so long as he is an overman."

Super, Mr. Shaw, is Latin, and can only be legitimately prefixed to a word of Latin origin, as in *superficial, supernatural*, etc. Sometimes we have adopted it via its French form *sur*. Thus we can call an overseer either a *supervisor* or a *surveyor*, but we cannot call him a " superseer." The words *super* and *over* were identical when the Aryans began to prattle, but they have lived apart for some thousands of years, and their traditions should be respected. This is a linguistic fact, and not a mere pedantic overstition.

The history of the Nietzschean word is as follows. Late Latin and Med. Latin formed a great number of compounds of *super-*, among them *superhumanus*. This was rendered in French by *surhumain*, and in German by *übermenschlich*, from the latter of which, by the process called back-formation, was evolved the noun *übermensch*. Originally a theological term, it was a favourite with Herder († 1809) ; but its modern currency dates from a famous passage in Goethe's Faust. In the first scene the wizard, having summoned up the Spirit of Earth, is terrified at its apparition. The phantom mockingly says :

> Da bin ich !—Welch erbärmlich grauen
> Fasst übermenschen dich ! [1]

It was Nietzsche who popularized *übermensch* as the representation of a silly Napoleonic ideal which has, in our own time, appealed so oddly to the mentally unbalanced and physically inconsiderable.

[1] Here I am ! What pitiful terror grips thee, would-be Titan !

Surround

An island, we learnt at school, is "a piece of land entirely surrounded by water." In the 16th century this would rather have been the definition of a lake, for to *surround* was originally to inundate, overflow, the sense having gradually changed by instinctive association with the word *round*. This is a not uncommon phenomenon, e.g. the mental picture called up by the word *expunge* is for most people that of a hand using an obliterating wet "sponge," whereas Lat. *expungere*, to prick out, means to indicate by dots that a word in a manuscript is to be regarded as deleted.

Surround is not used in any sense by Shakespeare or in the Authorized Version. Its modern sense, "to compasse round about," is first recorded in Bullokar's Expositor, the earliest English dictionary, published in the year of Shakespeare's death (1616). Milton knows only the modern meaning. Lat. *inundare*, explained by Cooper[1] (1573) as "to overflowe, to surround," gave Fr. *inonder*, which has squeezed out the synonymous Old Fr. *suronder*, from *superundare*, a verb only used figuratively in Latin. This passed into Anglo-French as *suronder*, later *surounder*.[2]

It is very common in Anglo-French official documents dealing with inundations in the Thames valley : "Prees et pastures et terres semez, ajoignauntz as ditz

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[1] Holyoak (1612), who usually copies Cooper, has "*inundare* : to overflow, to overwhelme or cover with water," showing the obsolescence of the older sense in the intervening forty years. It is recorded occasionally after this date, chiefly in dictionaries, e.g. Hexham (1658), which often preserve words or senses long after they are out of use.

[2] Anglo-French has *ou* for Old Fr. *o* before a nasal; cf. *bound* and *bondir*, *crown* and Old Fr. *corone*.

rivers, sount grandement destourbez, surondez, gastez, et destruitz " (Liber Albus, temp. Richard II). The modern spelling of the word is due to its being regarded as made up of *sur* and *round*, a compound which obviously would hardly make sense.

Swaraj

It is only within the last few years that the Indian home-rule movement has made us familiar with *swaraj* and *swarajist*. The Bengali compound *swaraj* corresponds exactly in sense to *autonomy*, self-rule, home-rule. It is made up of *swa*, own, from Sanskrit *sva*, cognate with Lat. *suus*, and *raj*, rule. The first element appears also in the less familiar *swadeshi*, used of the political boycott of English manufactures. This is a Bengali adjective, meaning national, from *desh*, country.

The historically interesting part of *swaraj* is *raj*, a word of which the wide diffusion points to the early and universal importance of kingship among the Aryan races. *Rajah*, the Hindi *rājā*, king, is derived from Sanskrit *rājan*. It is found in various corrupted forms (*rao*, *raya*, etc.) in the vernaculars of India, and, as a title, has spread far east into the Malay Archipelago. In *maharajah*, great king, the prefix is a Sanskrit adjective cognate with lat. *magnus*; cf. *mahatma*, lit. great-souled, from *ātman*, soul, lit. breath.

The Sanskrit word is cognate with Lat. *rex*, *reg-*, king, and *regere*, to rule, while the feminine *ranee* or *rani*, from Sanskrit *rājñi*, answers exactly to Lat. *regina*, with the Aryan feminine suffix which has practically disappeared from English (see *czarina*,

p. 62). The *Rajpoots*, king's sons, from Sanskrit *putra*, son, claim descent from the four " Kshatriyas " who sprang from the sacred fire-pit on Mount Abu.

The other great branch of the Indo-European languages which has the same root is the Celtic, e.g. Gaelic and Irish *righ*, king, Welsh *rhi*, Gaulish *-rix*, plural *-riges*. The last is common in personal and tribal names, such as *Vercingetorix* and the *Bituriges*, or in place-names, e.g. *Rigomagus* (= king's field).

The Teutons adopted the word at a very early date from the more civilized Celts, and its history in the Germanic languages is an object-lesson on the inevitable connection between power and wealth. The oldest records are in proper names such as Goth. *Frithareiks* (i.e. Frederick), ruler of peace, Anglo-Sax. *Eadric*, ruler of prosperity, Old High Ger. *Theudoric* (i.e. Dietrich, Theodoric), ruler of the people. The original sense of rule survives in Ger. *königreich*, kingdom, *Österreich*, Austria (eastern empire), etc. Anglo-Sax. *rīce* was used to render Lat. *potens*, and we still have a reminiscence of this original sense when we apply the epithet *rich* to foods, drinks, colours, etc.

The Romance languages borrowed the word from Germanic (Fr. *riche*, It. *ricco*, Sp. *rico*), at first in the original sense. Joinville, in his Vie de Saint-Louis, describes conferences to which the king summoned " les riches hommes " among the crusaders, i.e. the men of position and influence. But the sense of wealthy appears early in both groups of languages, and soon prevails over the more dignified meaning. Thus an adjective originally applied to a tribal hero is now most fittingly used of the film-star and other world idols of to-day.

Trounce

The verb to *trounce* is recorded from the 16th century. The Oxford Dictionary suggests no etymology, of course rejecting the suggestion that it is Old Fr. *tronchier*, to cut (Lat. *truncare*), which is contrary to sound and sense. Skeat defines it as " to beat with a truncheon," and derives it from Old Fr. *trons*, a truncheon. This is begging the question, for *trounce* does not mean to " beat with a truncheon," nor does Old Fr. *trons* mean " a truncheon." Skeat was perhaps misled by the fact that Old Fr. *trons* is explained in dictionaries as *tronçon*, *i.e.* piece, fragment, which he apparently took to mean *truncheon* in the modern sense of the English word. *Tronçon* is a diminutive of *tronc*, a trunk, and is explained by Cotgrave as " a truncheon, or little trunke ; a thicke slice, luncheon,[1] or peece cut off." It is often used in Old French and Mid. English of the broken shaft of a lance. The resultant sense of short, thick cudgel or marshal's baton is peculiar to English and quite unknown in Old or Modern French. The verb *truncheon*, to beat, is first recorded in Shakespeare (2 Henry IV, ii, 4), its earlier senses being to break a spear to pieces and to carve an eel ! The shorter *trons* also meant in old French simply stump, fragment, and had no connection with beating.

The sense-history of *trounce* illustrates a rather unusual phenomenon. As a rule it is the strong word, used from instinctive exaggeration, which gradually weakens in meaning. We can thrash our opponent at tennis, chaw him up at chess, or wipe

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[1] The original sense of *luncheon* was " chunk."

the floor with him at billiards. In *trounce* we have
the process reversed. Its original meaning in English
was to terrify, discomfit, etc., the word later develop-
ing the idea of physical ill-treatment.[1]

This is quite evident from the well-known and
earliest example, from the Bible of 1551: "But
the Lord trounsed [Authorized Version *discomfited*]
Sisara and all his charettes, and all hys hoste
with the edge of ye swerde before Barak"
(Judges iv. 15). Here *trounsed* represents the
perterruit, i.e. terrified, of the Vulgate, and the
synonymous ἐξέστησε of the Septuagint. The ren-
derings in the two Wyclifite versions are *feeryde*
(= frightened) and *made afeerd*. The current sense,
to thrash, is not clearly evidenced till the next
century. Another sense, to punish by legal action,
still survives in the Somerset dialect, and this is the
only meaning of the word that I can discover in
the early Latin dictionaries, e.g. Littleton (1678)
has "*trounce* : male mulctare," i.e. to fine heavily.
It is noteworthy that in several counties, according
to the English Dialect Dictionary, *trounce* still alto-
gether lacks the belabouring sense, and means simply
to discomfit.

Trounse or *trounce* seems to be a secondary form of
trance. From Lat. *transire*, to pass over, French
formed *transir*, to die. The corresponding noun
transe, whence our *trance* (with a meaning unknown
in French), acquired, via the sense of throes of death
(*les transes de la mort*), that of "extreame feare, dread ;
anxietie, or perplexitie of mind" (Cotgrave). This is
the original meaning of the Mid. Eng. *traunse*, though

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[1] The process is unusual, but is also illustrated by *chastise* and
castigate, which mean etymologically to purify, make chaste.

the modern sense also appears in Chaucer. The Oxford Dictionary quotes from Gower :

> This cherles herte is in a traunce,
> As he which drad him of vengence.
>
> (Confessio Amantis, iii, 321.)

I conjecture that *traunse*, fear, gave birth to a verb, meaning to frighten, and that this later became *trounce*. It may be asked whether such a change of vowel is possible. The answer is in the affirmative. There is another word *trance* (Mid. Eng. *traunce*), of unknown origin, meaning something like to prance, tramp, "trapse." It is used by Chaucer and Gower. It also occurs in the 16th century in the form *trounce*, a word employed by Scott (Redgauntlet, ch. xi.) and other northern writers. Both *traunce* and *trounce*, according to the English Dialect Dictionary, are still in general use in the north in the " trapsing," trudging, sense. If this *traunce* could become *trounce*, our word could do the same.[1] The only missing link in the argument is a record of Mid. Eng. *traunse*, to terrify.

Trudge

Mental association with *tramp* and *tread* has altogether changed the meaning of this word, and consequently obscured its etymology. It now means, according to the Oxford Dictionary, " to walk laboriously, wearily, or without spirit, but steadily and persistently." This idea first appears in Johnson, who has " to travel laboriously, to jog on, to march

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[1] There is also the parallel of the obsolete *jaunce* and *jounce*, to make prance, etc., the former of which is used by Shakespeare (Richard II, v, 5).

heavily on." But Bailey, twenty years earlier, has
" to trot up and down ; to toil and moil about a
business." The second part of this definition is partly
due to association with *drudge.* Tusser rimes the
two words more than once :

> Good husband, he trudgeth, to bring in the gaines,
> Good huswife, she drudgeth, refusing no paines.

This is given by the Oxford Dictionary as an
example of walking laboriously. It really refers to
the busy activity of the master of the farm.

The first Latin dictionary in which I have found the
word (Littleton, 1735) explains *trudge* by *festinare,
cursitare,* which are a long way removed in sense from
the current use. These Latin verbs are explained by
Cooper (1573) as " to hie apace, to make speede,"
and " to runne up and downe, to runne often." The
earliest Oxford Dictionary record (1547) for the verb,
" If the belles rynge in any place for an obit, than
(= then) oure gentyl gallants trudge apace," refers
obviously to a hasty departure. In fact, the essential
16th-century meaning was not to walk or plod, but
to start off. That the word was a colloquialism is
shown by its absence from the earlier Latin-English
dictionaries and from the Authorized Version.

Shakespeare's use of *trudge* leaves no doubt as to
its 16th-century meaning. When Mistress Ford was
making her arrangements for the removal of Falstaff
in the buck-basket, she bade her servants, " Take this
basket on your shoulders ; that done, trudge (i.e.
start off) with it in all haste " (Merry Wives, iii, 3).
It is often used with *apace,* in the phrase " we must
be trudging," and in the imperative *trudge,* i.e. be
off with you. It is not till about the middle of the

18th century that the sense of laborious progress is clearly evidenced. In fact, *trudge* and *pack*, both used of hurried departure, are practically synonymous in the 16th and 17th centuries. The latter is very common in. Shakespeare. I will quote only two examples :

> Hence ! pack ! there's gold ; you came for gold, ye slaves.
> (Timon, v, 1.)

> Ere a fortnight make me elder,
> I'll send some packing that yet think not on it.
> (Richard III, iii, 2.)

The two synonymous words are often coupled :

> None other speech prevaylde
> But " packe " and " trudge," al leysure was to (=too) long.
> (Gascoigne, Fruites of Warre.)

Trudge is derived, in my opinion, from Fr. *trousser*, to pack, and acquired its meaning [1] in the same way as *pack*, to be off. *Trousser* gave regularly *truss*, a common word in Mid. English, explained in Stratmann and Bradley's Middle English Dictionary as " pack up ; be off ; go away." This survived till the 16th century—

> As for all other, let them trusse and packe.
> (Skelton, Magnyficence, 1. 1774)—

disappearing, in this special sense, as the synonymous *trudge* came into use. With Skelton's " truss and pack " cf. Shakespeare's " trudge and pack " :

> If every one knows us, and we know none,
> 'Tis time, I think, to trudge, pack, and be gone.
> (Comedy of Errors, iii, 2.)

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[1] Cf. the familiar Fr. *trousser bagage*, to pack up and go.

For the apparent phonetic irregularity involved in the change of *truss* to *trudge*, we have the invaluable evidence of Mrs. Gamp. It will be remembered that that lady, when she saw the Antwerp packet, remarked, confounding the prophet with the whale, " And I wish it was in Jonadge's belly I do." On the occasion when she " propoged " a toast, and her long friendship with Betsy Prig came to an end, she addressed that lady as " bage creetur " and animadverted on her " bragian " words. In fact, she regularly substituted a palatal for a sibilant. There is no reason to suppose that Mrs. Gamp's language was peculiar to her. It was rather a survival, noted by one of the most observant men who ever lived, of a pronunciation which must have had a considerable vogue in earlier centuries.[1] It appears also in *grudge*, from Old Fr. *groucier*.[2] The nautical *forge*, as in to " forge ahead," is a still better parallel. It is a corruption, recorded as early as 1611, of *force*. The identity of *force* and *forge* is made quite clear by the evidence of the two best nautical dictionaries of the 18th century : " *To forge over* (corrompu de *to force*) : passer en faisant force de voiles sur un banc de sable, ou à travers les glaces ; on dit aussi en françois *forcer* " (Lescallier) ; " *franchir un banc :* to force over a bank " (ibid.) ; " *franchir une roche :* to pass over, or forge off from, a rock " (Falconer). Nautical speech has preserved this corruption, just as in *wear* (for *veer*) it has kept the solitary surviving example of the once widespread confusion between initial *v-* and *w-*.

[1] I have ventured to suggest elsewhere (Cornhill, May 1922) that Mrs. Gamp spoke English like an early Georgian duchess.

[2] Cf. the American *grouch*. It is, unfortunately, impossible to link the military *grouse* with Old Fr. *groucier*, as there is a gap of centuries between them.

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Forge and *force* are now felt to be as completely separate words as *trudge* and *truss*.

Uproar

This word occurs seven times in the Authorized Version in the sense of civic commotion, popular disturbance: "Not on the feast-day, lest there be an uproar [Vulgate *tumultus*] among the people" (Mark xiv. 2). This is its true meaning, and it has nothing to do with the roaring of the lion,[1] though it is of this word that we think when we speak of "uproarious laughter."

Mid. English had *rore*, disturbance, usually in the phrase "in (*or* on) a rore." It was borrowed early from Dutch "*roer* : trouble, commotion, sedition, or tumult" (Hexham, 1672), which corresponds to the verb "*roeren* : to touch, stirr, or meddle with" (ibid.) ; cf. Ger. *rühren*, to stir, and Anglo-Sax. *hrēran*, the latter of which survives in dialect *rear-mouse* (i.e. flitter-mouse or bat). The Promptorium Parvulorum (1440) has "*rore*, or *turbyle amonge pepel* : disturbium, tumultus, turbacio, perturbacio, comminacio." Miranda uses it to her father :

> If by your art, my dearest father, you have
> Put the wild waters in this roar, allay them.
>
> (Tempest, i, 2.)

It was naturally associated with the older *roar*, the lion's voice, and it would be hard to say how much of each word enters into Hamlet's address to Yorick's skull: "Where be your gibes now? your gambols?

[1] This is from Anglo-Sax. *rārian*.

your songs ? your flashes of merriment that were wont to set the table in a roar ? " (Hamlet, v, 1).

The Dutch verb also passed into Mid. English with the sense of busy activity, chaffering, barter, and still survives in " roaring trade." Lastly, the " roaring boys," or Mohocks, of the 17th century, who succeeded the " roarers " of the 16th century, were not named from their voices, but from their tumultuous behaviour. As early as 1311 one Simon Braban (evidently a Fleming) was indicted in London as " noctivagus et rorere," i.e. as a night-prowler and disturber of the peace.

Tyndale appears to have been the first Bible trans-lator to use *roar* for disturbance, e.g., where the Authorized Version (Acts xix. 29) has " filled with confusion " [Vulgate *impleta confusione*], he has " on a roore." But for *seditio* or *tumultus* he felt the need of a stronger term, and it is to him that we owe the introduction of *uproar*, coined in imitation of Dutch " *oproer :* uprore, tumult, commotion, mutiny, or sedition " (Hexham), or the synonymous Ger. *aufruhr*, as used in Luther's translation. Shakespeare employs *uproar* in the original Biblical sense, and even makes it into a verb :

> Nay, had I power, I should
> Pour the sweet milk of concord into hell,
> Uproar the universal peace, confound
> All unity on earth.
> (Macbeth, iv, 3.)

Verge

On March 28, 1925, was produced in London a play called The Verge. I gather from the dramatic critics that it is a question of a heroine on the verge of

insanity.   The Daily News for March 30 is of opinion
that " Claire has already gone over the edge."

When we use the noun *verge* in the sense of boundary,
brink, etc., we automatically associate it with the
verb to *verge*, to incline, e.g. a state of mind which
" verges on " insanity might be described as " the
verge of " insanity. The two words are, however,
unrelated, though this accidental resemblance of form
has affected the sense-development of both.   The
verb to *verge* is Lat. *vergere*, to turn, to bend, of
which we have the compounds *converge*, to turn
together, *diverge*, to turn apart.

The history of the noun *verge*, a border, is very
curious.   It is Fr. *verge*, explained by Cotgrave as
" a rod, wand, stick, small staffe ;   also a sergeants
verge or mace." It comes from Lat. *virga*, a rod.
The rod or wand has always been an emblem of
authority, and *verge*, formerly used in English of the
sceptre, Gray's " rod of empire," has given us the
title of the church functionary called a *verger*. The
Middle Ages had all sorts of verge-bearing officials,
some of whom still survive in royal and parliamentary
ceremonies as Gold Sticks, Silver Sticks, Black Rods,
White Rods, etc.   The municipal officer called a Ser-
geant-at-Mace was formerly also known as a Sergeant
of the Verge.

Among the most important of these functionaries was
the Lord High Steward of the King's household, whose
authority on certain points extended to a radius of
twelve miles round the royal court. Everything
subject to his ruling was described in Med. Latin
as *infra virgam*, i.e. subject to the authority of which
his wand of office was the symbol.   He presided over
a Court of Justice called the " court of verge," or

simply " verge," e.g. " One Elizabeth Cottrell was condemned at the verge holden on Thursday last for stealing one of his majestys dishes " (Verney Papers, Jan. 21, 1637). Hence the expression " within the verge " came to mean within the boundaries or pre-cincts of some special place. From this the transition to the general idea of limit, boundary, was easy.

Shakespeare uses *verge* several times in the sense of brink. When Edgar has led the blind Gloucester to the edge of Dover Cliff, he says :

> " Give me your hand ; you are now within a foot
>   Of the extreme verge."
>
> (Lear, iv, 6.)

This is now, apart from some technical uses of the word, the prevailing sense of *verge*, and, as the title of a play, " The Verge," I imagine, is about equivalent to " The Deep End."

Viking

There are three theories as to the origin of *viking*. That most generally accepted derives it from Old Norse *vīk*, bay, creek. Skeat adopts Noreen's etymology from Old Norse *vīg*, combat. The Oxford Dictionary points out that the Anglo-Sax. *wīcing* is much older than the Norse form, and concludes that the word may have originated in the Anglo-Frisian area and been later accepted by the Norsemen. If this is correct, the origin is probably Anglo-Sax. *wīc*,[1] camp, " the formation of temporary camps being a prominent feature of Viking raids." The word has

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[1] This *wīc* is the origin of our -*wick*, -*wich* (Berwick, Norwich, etc.). It is borrowed from Lat. *vicus*, village

often been analysed as *vi-king* (cf. *sea-king*), which
has led the humorous or the ignorant to coin *vi-queen*.
For this " ghost-word " the Oxford Dictionary has
only one quotation, " There Lina lies like a vi-queen
in her grave " (H. Marryat, A Year in Sweden), with
the paralysing explanation " vice-queen ! "

Most people have a vague idea of the exploits and
depredations of the vikings from the 8th to the 11th
century, but it is perhaps not generally recognized
that, like the buccaneers, they distinguished them-
selves by land as well as by sea, and were as eminent
in trade as in war. We usually think of them as
infesting the coasts of England and France, with
occasional raids extending to the Mediterranean, and
reaching the coast of North America many centuries
before Columbus. Their movement eastward is a less
familiar theme, though the picturesque Varangian
guard of the Byzantine Emperors sticks in the
memories of those who have read Count Robert of
Paris. Everyone knows that the Northmen gave
their name to Normandy, but fewer people realize
that so vast a country as Russia owes its name to
these same adventurers. In 862 Rurik the Varangian [1]
established at Novgorod a dynasty which lasted till
1598, but the country had been penetrated by the
vikings at a much earlier date. These adventurers
were also called *Rus*, from Ruotsi, the Finnish name
for Sweden, and, just as the Franks, though few in
number compared with the conquered Gauls, gave
their name to France, so the Rus, a warlike and
dominating caste, gave theirs to Russia.

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[1] From Old Norse *væringi*, from *vár*, plighted faith. " The
word *variag* in modern Russian means a pedlar, and bears witness
to the strong commercial instincts of the Vikings " (Mawer).

The fame of the vikings revived with the new-born interest in Teutonic history and legend which characterized the 18th century. The word *viking* itself is not recorded by the Oxford Dictionary till c. 1800, and at first in the Old Norse form *vikingr*, but a number of what we may call "viking" words appear much earlier. The pioneers of old Teutonic studies were William Somner, whose Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum appeared in 1659, and George Hickes, whose Linguarum Veterum Septentrionalium Thesaurus Grammatico-criticus et Archæologicus dates from 1703–5. Hickes was apparently the first to use the Old Norse *saga*, a saying, "saw." *Skald*, an Icelandic poet, and *norn*, one of the Scandinavian "fates," were most probably introduced by Bishop Percy, the famous editor of the Reliques of Ancient Poetry (1765). In 1768 Gray, in his Fatal Sisters, an imitation of the Old Norse skaldic song on the Battle of Clontarf (1014), first made use of *valhalla*, the hall of the slain, and *valkyrie*, chooser of the slain. The latter existed as Anglo-Sax. *wælcyrige*, a sorceress, from *wæl*, slaughter, and *cēosan* (past participle *coren*), to choose, but had been obsolete for many centuries when Gray reintroduced it in its Old Norse form. Cf. the Wagnerian *walküre*.

Earlier than any of these words is *rune*, which is Old Norse *rūn*, mystery, a word introduced in the 17th century from Danish writers on Scandinavian antiquities. This is not especially a viking word, as it is found in all the Teutonic languages. From Anglo-Sax. *rūn*, mystery, whence *rūnstæf*, rune-staff, runic symbol, was formed a verb *rūnian*, to whisper. This became regularly *roun*, and later, with the excrescent -*d* which we are fond of adding after -*n* (e.g. *sound*,

Mid. Eng. *soun*, Fr. *son*), *round*, still used in dialect, and almost always in conjunction with the word *ear*. German has the corresponding *raunen*, explained by Ludwig (1716) as " to round, or whisper, something in one's ear ; to round him in the ear with it." The 17th-century antiquaries, who were familiar with this good old word, little suspected that it was identical with their newly introduced *rune*.

War

The history of the way in which the idea of war has been expressed at various times by the European races gives food for thought. Lat. *bellum* is for Old Lat. *duellum*, from *duo*, two (cf. Ger. *zwist*, strife, from *zwei*, two). The Roman goddess of war, *Bellona*, had in Old Latin the name *Duelonai*. Thus the Romans conceived war as a division or separation. They called a truce [1] *indutiæ*, i.e. the state of no longer being two, at-one-ment. Some of the Roman grammarians explained *bellum* as the neuter of the adjective *bellus*, beautiful, calling in the " lucus a non lucendo," or antithetic, etymological method, " quod bellum non bellum est." It was the identity of these two words, with the resultant ambiguity, that led all the Romance languages to reject *bellum* and adopt, from Teutonic, the word which has become our *war*.

The Teutons, though essentially warlike, had no general name for war. The Anglo-Saxons called it *gewinn*, from *winnan*, which originally meant to toil

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[1] Our use of the plural *truce*, i.e. *trewes*, from Anglo-Sax. *trēow*, fidelity, is perhaps due to its frequent use to translate the Latin plural *indutiæ*.

or strive,[1] and *orlege*, a word of dubious origin, found in some of the other Teutonic languages, e.g. *oorlog* is the usual term in Dutch. In Old Norse it was expressed by the euphemism *ūfrithr*, i.e. un-peace. It was not till the Mid. High German period that *krieg*, pertinacity, striving after, came to mean war in German, the sense-development supplying a parallel to that of Anglo-Sax. *gewinn*.

All this seems to show that the Teutons of historic times had come to the conclusion that war was a beastly thing, and avoided mentioning it in set terms, just as the men of our own time who have seen what it is like refer to the World War as " the late unpleasant affair on the continent." The personal names of the Teutons reveal an earlier attitude to the question. The Anglo-Saxon name-elements, *heathu*, *wīg*, *hild*, *guth*, with their cognates in the other Teutonic languages, all mean war, conflict. They survive, not only in names, but in a very large number of picturesque compounds found in legendary poetry, such as Beowulf. This vocabulary represents the feelings of a pre-historic age, and stands apart from the everyday language of the Anglo-Saxons.

The Romance names for war, viz. Fr. *guerre*, It. and Sp. *guerra*, come from Old High Ger. *werra*, confusion, strife. This survives in Ger. *wirren*, to perplex, *verworren*, confused, and the reduplicated *wirrwarr*, turmoil. It is ultimately related to *worse*. It is difficult to account for the prevalence in Romanic of this Teutonic word or for its change of sense. It may have been part of the slang used by German mercenaries in the Imperial armies. Although Teutonic

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[1] This old sense still survives when we speak of " winning through," etc.

w- regularly becomes *gu-* in French, the original sound survived in the north-eastern corner of France,[1] and it was from this region that late Anglo-Saxon borrowed *werre*, which became *war*, just as *sterre* became *star*.

Wassail

The story that Rowena, the fair daughter of Hengist, used the phrase *wes heil*, be hale, in handing the cup to Vortigern, is first found in Geoffrey of Monmouth, whose Historia Britonum, compiled from Nennius (fl. c. 800), was probably finished c. 1150. Geoffrey's work was translated into English by Layamon (c. 1200), and it is in Layamon that we first find the word in an English context: " Laverd king wæs hail," along with Vortigern's reply, " drinc hail." Somewhat earlier Wace, in his Roman de Rou, had used both words in a French context in describing the revelry in the English camp the night before Hastings.

The Rowena story is an anachronism. There is no trace of these drinking salutations in early Teutonic literature. The practice seems to have arisen in England, and, as the early forms of *wassail* suggest, among the Danish part of the population. The Oxford Dictionary quotes an authority of c. 1190 to the effect that the English students at the University of Paris were too much addicted to *wessail* and *dringail*.

Wassail very quickly acquired the sense of the

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[1] Cf. *ward*, from Old Fr. *warder*, the north-eastern doublet of *garder*.

medium used in health-drinking, especially the spiced ale of Yuletide. It also became a verb, surviving in the " Here we come a-wassailing " of the old carol. It is now only a picturesque or playful archaism. One has heard individuals described as " rather too fond of the wassail bowl."

The Anglo-Saxon greeting *wes hāl*, be hale, and the corresponding Old Norse expression are both recorded, though not in reference to health-drinking. *Hāl wes*[1] *thū* is used, in the Anglo-Saxon Gospels, to render the *Ave!* of the Vulgate. *Heil* is similarly used in German and Goth. *hails* by Ulfila. The earliest records of *wassail* show that the second element was not Anglo-Sax. *hāl*, but the cognate Old Norse *heil*.

The Old Norse form has survived in the nautical *hail*, the greeting of ships passing one another at sea. Captain John Smith (1626) spells it *hale* : " Dowse your top sayle, salute him for the sea ; Hale him, whence your ship ? " It is easy to see how the expression " to hail from " arose from this exchange of marine courtesies.

The curious spelling *whole* rather disguises its connection with the words already mentioned. It is for earlier *hole*, *hoole*, representing Anglo-Sax. *hāl*, which had the double sense of healthy and complete. The Promptorium Parvulorum (1440) glosses *hool* by " sanus, integer." The former sense still survives, though currently replaced by *healthy*, in Biblical language and in *wholesome*. The spelling with *wh-* of words beginning with *ho-* is recorded in the 15th century, and appears to correspond to an altered pronunciation still traceable in dialect. Tyndale has *wholy* for *holy*. In standard English the changed spelling, with now

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[1] Imperative of *wesan*, to be ; cf. *was*.

silent *w-*, survives only in *whole* and another word
not used by the best people. *Hale*, used especially
in collocation with *hearty*, represents the north-country
pronunciation. *Heal* is Anglo-Sax. *hælan*, to make
hale, and, corresponding to *weal* and *wealth* (p. 149),
English once had *heal* and *health*:

> Daun John answerde, " Certes I am fayn (= glad)
> That ye in heele are comen hom agayn."
>
> (Chauc. B. 1539.)

The Romans used one and the same word for bodily
and mental health, as in Juvenal's " mens sana in
corpore sano," which has been explained as a healthy
mind in a body that can say " No ! " The converted
Teutons recognized a similar connection between the
body and the soul. They rendered *salus* by their
word for physical wholeness. *Health*, used by Wyclif
for " salvation " in the Nunc Dimittis, still occurs in
the same sense in the Authorized Version, e.g.
Ps. lxvii. 2, and in the Book of Common Prayer,
e.g. " There is no health in us." They used for Saviour
the present participle of the verb *heal* (this survives
in Ger. *Heiland*), and an adjective meaning " healthy "
for Lat. *sacer*, *sanctus*. Thus *holy* is Anglo-Sax.
hālig, with which cf. Ger. *heilig*, Old Norse *heilagr*,
Goth. *heilags*.[1] These words are pre-Christian in their
religious sense, and it is thought that the idea of
" integer " may have passed into that of proof against
evil spirits.

Finally, from the adjective *hālig* were formed a
noun *hālga*, saint, and a verb *hālgian*, to make holy.
Via Mid. English forms in *halw-* these both became

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[1] Not used in Ulfila's Bible, but found in an inscription.

hallow.   We still speak of *Hallow-e'en* and *All Hallows.*
Chaucer uses *hallow* of a saint's shrine :

> Thanne longen folk to goon on pilgrimages
> And palmeres for to seken straunge strondes,
> To ferne (= distant) halwes, kowthe in sondry londes.
>   (Prologue, l. 12.)

Wealth

It has recently been pointed out by a distinguished
financial authority that the capitalists of this
country number several millions.   The history of the
word *wealth* is an illustration of one of the strongest
and healthiest instincts of mankind, the desire to
win and to keep some kind of property, the ambition
to become " well-off."

Anglo-Saxon had a word *wela*, whence our word
weal, surviving in " weal and woe," " common weal."
Already in Anglo-Saxon this had the meaning, now
lost, of riches.[1]   Mid. English formed a new noun
welthe, with the same general senses as *weal*; and
" common weal," " commonwealth " are both medieval
phrases, perhaps suggested by Lat. *res publica.*

As often happens when synonymous words exist
side by side, differentiation gradually took place, with
the result that *weal* is now limited to the poetic sense
of prosperity, while *wealth* means only riches.   The
older general application of *wealth* seems to have
died out in the 17th century.   In the 16th we find a
company of merchants offering up prayers " for the
wealth of our voyage, the health of our men, and the
safetie of our ships " (Hakluyt), and we still say in

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[1] Cf. the history of Fr. *bien*, well, wealth.

the Prayer for the King's Majesty, " Grant him in health and wealth long to live."

Very early in his history man saw that riches were *good*, and named them accordingly. We now limit the word to wares, and use it in the plural only, but a thousand years ago *good* meant prosperity, possessions, wealth.[1] The first *Scattergood* was not a diffuser of righteousness, but one who wasted his substance in riotous living. As late as 1546 Heywood registers the proverb, " Evil gotten good never proveth well." For centuries *wealth* and *good* could be used indifferently both of general well-being and financial ease. The medieval Englishman could do physical exercises for the *wealth* of his health or work hard in order to gather *good*. He could even mitigate the castigation of his offspring by assuring them that it was for their own *wealth*.

Weird

Our trick of using a noun as a qualifying epithet, as in " choice fruit " or " prize idiot," results in the creation of new adjectives. From the compound *gamecock*, i.e. cock of the game (cock-fighting), has been evolved an adjective meaning plucky, intrepid. I recently heard a cross-word " fan," unversed in word-history, protest against the unfairness of equating *destiny* and *weird*. The latter, in its current adjectival sense, was worked to death in the last decade of the 19th century, its popularity resulting, I fancy, from the untiring eagerness with which the schoolgirl prosecutes her search for new and expressive epithets.

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[1] Cf. the corresponding Ger. *gut*, estate, *güter*, goods, *hab und gut*, goods and chattels.

Worcester's English Dictionary (1859) explains *weird* as " skilled in, or using, relating to, or derived from, witchcraft," with no reference to its use other than as a noun (1522) in Gavin Douglas. It is not in Johnson (3rd ed. 1765), nor in Bailey (2nd ed. 1736). Todd added it to his revised edition of Johnson (1827). He explains it as " skilled in witchcraft," but refers to its use by Gavin Douglas to render the Lat. *fatum*, destiny. He also gives a quotation from Macbeth. Skinner's Etymologicon (1673) includes it in a vocabulary " Vocum antiquarum Anglicarum, quæ jam ante parentum ætatem in usu esse desierunt." He correctly explains it as destiny, with the remark that it occurs " passim apud Dug. in Æn. Virg."

From all this we may infer, my dear Watson, that *weird*, destiny, was a familiar word in early modern Scots; that, apart from Macbeth, it had disappeared from Elizabethan literary English; that the 18th century, which knew not Shakespeare, knew not *weird*; that it came back into the poetic language of the 19th century transformed into an adjective; and that, in the latter part of that century, its meaning changed from witch-like to fantastic, odd, queer.

If we go back to the beginning of its history, we find that Anglo-Saxon had a verb *weorthan*, to happen, to become. This verb is common to the Teutonic languages (Dutch *worden*, Ger. *werden*, Old Norse *vertha*, Gothic *wairthan*), and is cognate with Lat. *vertere*, to turn.[1] It survives in the poetic " Woe worth the day " (Ezek. xxx. 2). There was a related noun *wyrd*, destiny, used by Ælfric Grammaticus and by King Alfred. The corresponding Old Norse *urthr* was the name of one of the Norns, the Fates of Scan-

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[1] And with the -*ward* of *forward*, etc.

dinavian mythology. The Anglo-Saxon word per-
sisted in Mid. English, and Chaucer speaks of
" the wirdes that we clepen destinee " (Legend of
Good Women, l. 1580); Gower (Confessio Amantis,
Book iii) makes Nestor say that " it were a wonder
wierd,[1] to sien a King become an hierd."

Weird dropped out of early Modern English, perhaps
because of the competition of the borrowed words *fate*
and *destiny*, but survived in the north. Shakespeare's
source for Macbeth was John Bellenden († 1587),
who translated into the vernacular Hector Bœce's
Historia Scotorum. In it we read, " Makbeth and
Banquho met be ye gait thre women clothit in
elrage and uncouth weid (= dress, cf. widow's
weeds). They were jugit be the pepill to be weird
sisters." Hence Shakespeare's use of the term in
Macbeth, where " weird sisters " occurs repeatedly.
That it was an unfamiliar word may be inferred from
the fact that in the oldest editions it is printed *weyard*
or *weyward*, is both a monosyllable and a disyllable,[2]
and is even replaced by *wizard* in the later Folios.

Did Shakespeare, but for whom the word would
have remained dead and buried, realize that Bellen-
den's " weird sisters " were " fate sisters," just as we
now speak of an " oil magnate " or a " cricket blue " ?
This must remain uncertain. At any rate the early
19th-century students of Shakespeare took *weird* for
an adjective, and its original sense was lost. Except
in one phrase. From Anglo-Sax. *drēogan*, to perform,
endure, resulted a common Mid. English verb *dree*.

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[1] To a modern ear and eye this suggests " a weird wonder,"
but it means " a wonderful destiny." Mid. English had an
adjective *wonder* and an adverb *wonders*, now corrupted to *wondrous*.

[2] " Saw you the we-ird sisters? "—" No, my lord " (Macbeth, iv, 1).

This disappeared from literary use, but persisted in northern dialect, e.g. it is used by Mrs. Gaskell in her Lancashire tale Mary Barton. In Mid. English it was commonly coupled with *weird*, destiny, and Scott reintroduced the phrase into literature: "Tell him the time's coming now and the weird's dree'd and the wheel's turning" (Guy Mannering, ch. xlvi).

Wretch

That *beef* and *cow* are ultimately the same word is one of those facts that delight the student of etymology and provoke the incredulous bray of the ignorant. Similarly *wretch* and *gossoon* have not a sound or letter in common, but it is not difficult to establish their ultimate identity.

Anglo-Saxon had a verb *wrecan*, to avenge, which we now use in the pleonasm " to wreak vengeance," or incorrectly in " to wreak havoc." [1] Its original sense was to drive, expel, and it is cognate with Lat. *urgere*. The " avenger of blood " is Coverdale's substitute for Wyclif's " blood-wreaker." The verb is found in all the Teutonic languages, e.g. Ger. *rächen*, to avenge, which once meant to expel and began with a *w*-. It is also related to *wrack, wreck*, the thing driven. Corresponding to the verb was an Anglo-Sax. noun *wrœcca*, an outcast, exile, hence a miserable person, "wretch," the sense that has persisted up to the present day.

We have a parallel to the history of *wretch* in Ger. *elend*, wretched, originally exiled, from Old High Ger.

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[1] This and similar phrases seem to be due to the illusion that *wreak* is the present tense of *wrought*.

eli-lenti, " other-landish," the first element of which is cognate with Eng. *else* and Lat. *alius*.

The German noun *recke*, corresponding to *wretch,* has had a very different history. The sense of exile passed into that of desperado, just as It. *bandito*, the banished man, came to mean robber. In Mid. High German a *recke* was first an exile, then an adventurer, then a hireling fighting-man or soldier of fortune, and finally a stout warrior, a hero. With the revival of an interest in the medieval the word was disinterred by the 18th-century poets, and *recke* became a favourite term in the vocabulary of the early German Romantics. In Modern German it is a stock journalistic epithet for imposing figures, such as that of Bismarck in cuirassier uniform.

The earliest form of *recke* was Old High Ger. *wrecceo*. Like many other words that can be applied to persons, it is recorded as a proper name, in the Latinized form *Waracio*, earlier (9th century) than its occurrence as a common noun.

The etymology of the French word *garçon* has busied most etymologists at some time or other. It has long been recognized that a Late Lat. *warcio,* *warcionem*, of Teutonic origin, would account for *gars*, *garçon*, and this *warcio* is now discovered [1] in the original form of Ger. *recke*, a " wretch." In the oldest French texts *garçon* means something like varlet, a sense easily evolved from that of the Germanic original. Its earliest-known occurrence is in the Chanson de Roland, where it is coupled with *esquier*.

Garçon is now regarded in English as a word to be pronounced in pseudo-French fashion. In a recent number of the Daily News, " Under the Clock " defines

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[1] See Kluge, Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, xli, 684.

garsong as " a cry emitted at short intervals by English-men travelling abroad." But it was completely acclimatized in Mid. English in the form *garsoon*. In the 17th century it dropped out of use, but not before it had been adopted in Anglo-Irish as *gossoon*.

Yeoman

The history of the *yeoman* runs curiously parallel to that of the squire.[1] Each began as a subordinate or attendant and ended as a freeholder, his land being originally held in connection with military services or obligations. In royal or noble households the *yeoman* ranked between the sergeant and the groom (sergeant, yeoman, groom of the buttery, etc.). In the military hierarchy the order was knight, squire, yeoman, an order more or less preserved by the titled landowners, country gentry, and yeomen farmers of pre-War days. Chaucer (Prologue, ll. 43–117) has drawn of the three types portraits that will last for all time.

Yeoman service is one of the numerous picturesque phrases first found in Shakespeare, and revived, after two centuries of disuse, by Scott :

> I once did hold it, as our statists do,
> A baseness to write fair, and labour'd much
> How to forget that learning ; but, sir, now
> It did me yeoman's service.
>
> (Hamlet, v, 2.)

It is uncertain whether Shakespeare was using an already current expression, of the same type as *knight's service* (i.e. service connected with the tenure of land),

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[1] Old Fr. *escuier* (now *écuyer*. equerry), Vulgar Lat. *scutarius*, shield-bearer.

or whether he coined it in imitation of the latter, in the same way as he made Beatrice coin *trencherman* (Much Ado, i. 1) on the analogy of *bowman* and *spearman*.

The official sense of *yeoman* long survived in the titles of many royal officials, and, by analogy with " yeoman of the buttery, etc.," we find the hangman's assistant humorously called the " yeoman of the cord." The Navy still has the rank of " yeoman of the signals," but the only royal yeomen are now the " Yeomen of the Guard," a corps raised at the accession of Henry VII (1485), and derisively called, since the 17th century, *beef-eaters*. The Oxford Dictionary quotes, from a letter written by Elizabeth Montagu, the Queen of the Bluestockings, " I can eat more buttered roll in a morning than a great girl at a boarding-school, and more beef at dinner than a yeoman of the Guards."

Yeoman is a fine word. Like other fine words it has almost dropped out of use. It suggests, I think, to most people, the picture of a bluff and stalwart Englishman, a stout friend and an indomitable foe. *Yeomanly* and *yeoman-like* once had the same favourable connotation as *sailorly* and *seaman-like*. It is interesting to note that the vast material of quotations accumulated by the Oxford Dictionary has revealed only one miserable passage in which *yeoman* is used disparagingly. There is, so far as I know, no continental equivalent, for the class hardly existed outside England.

The etymology of *yeoman* (Mid. Eng. also *yemen, yoman*) has been very much discussed. Minsheu (1617) says, " *Yeoman* seemeth to be one word made by contraction of two Danish [1] words (*yong men*),"

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[1] It is better to substitute Anglo-Sax. *geong mann*.

mentioning, as he usually does, half a dozen other possibilities. Spelman (1687) also suggests Anglo-Sax. *geong*, young, " quod *juvenem* significat, iidemque sunt qui in Canuti Legibus de Foresta *juniores* appellantur, antiquis *pueri*, Gallis *valeti*." This etymology has been recently revived by the Oxford Dictionary, which points out the correspondence between two variant texts of Langland : " Yonge men to renne [1] and to ride " (Piers Plowman, A. iii, 207), and " Youmen to yernen [1] and to ride " (ibid. B. iii, 213). For the contraction it compares south-west dialect *yeomath*, young math (= aftermath, second mowing).

It may be noted also that *yeoman* is commonly glossed by *valettus* in medieval dictionaries, and that *valet*, for which Cotgrave gives *yeoman*, means a " junior " vassal. The Catholicon Anglicum (1483) explains *yeoman* by *ephebus*, i.e. Gr. ἔφηβος, a young citizen from eighteen to twenty, a military tiro.

It seems not unreasonable to suppose that the Norman *escuier* and the English *yeoman* were practically the same thing, and that the higher position assumed by the former was due to his belonging to the ruling caste. German *junker* (= *jung herr*) offers a parallel to the formation of *yeoman*, while its sense-history is exactly that of *squire*.

Yon

We are all familiar with *beyond* and *yonder*, but, except for occasional poetic reminiscences, such as " yon little stream hard by," we are hardly conscious of the fact that *yon*, still flourishing in the dialects, has every right to be recognized as a regular demon-

---

[1] Both these words mean " run."

strative adjective forming a convenient contrast with *this*. It might even be urged that " this man " and " yon woman," besides being as clear as " this here man " and " that there woman," are slightly more elegant. *This* and *yon* properly correspond, in function as in origin, to the German demonstratives *dieser* and *jener*, the latter of which also tends to become disused in Modern German.

The word (Anglo-Sax. *geon*) is common to the Teutonic languages (cf. Dutch *gene*, Goth. *jains*), and its derivatives and compounds can also be paralleled, e.g. corresponding to our archaic *yonside* we find *jenseits* in German and *hinsida* in Swedish. The vitality of this good old word was brought home to me many years ago at a North and South Rugger match. My neighbour, a Yorkshireman, expressed his disapproval of the number of free kicks awarded to the South by the oft-repeated comment, " He's the lousiest referee I've ever seen, is yon."

The corresponding adverb *yond* is obsolete in literary English, except in the works of writers who try to reproduce the dialect language of their characters. It is, however, frequent in Shakespeare :

> The fringed curtains of thine eye advance
> And say what thou seest yond.
>
> (Tempest, i, 2.)

Shakespeare also uses both *yon* and *yond* regularly in the same demonstrative sense as our Yorkshire friend.

When a writer attempts to use the language of a bygone age, he should have his proofs read by a philologist. Otherwise he is likely to give himself away. Scott did so frequently, as did also Chatterton.

Browning, in Pippa Passes, was guilty of perhaps the most startling verbal "gaffe" ever perpetrated by a writer. The example of deliberate archaism was set by Spenser, who admired and imitated Chaucer. In a Tudor and Stuart Glossary by Skeat and Mayhew, published in 1914, occurs the entry "*yond:* this word occurs in the following passages. . . . It seems to be a synonym of ' fierce.' "

Here are the passages, in full :

> Then like a lyon, which hath long time saught
> His robbed whelpes and at the last them fond
> Emongst the shepheard swaynes, then wexeth wood [1] and yond.
> (Faerie Queene, II, viii, 40.)

> Not halfe so fast the wicked Myrrha fled
> From dread of her revenging fathers hond,
> Nor halfe so fast to save her maydenhed
> Fled fearefull Daphne on th' Ægæan strond,
> As Florimell fled from that monster yond,
> To reach the sea ere she of him were raught.[2]
> (Ibid. III, vii, 26.)

> Let none forget Obizo of Tuscan lond,
>   Well worthy praise for many a worthy deed,
> Nor those three brethren, Lombards fierce and yond,
>   Achilles, Sforza, and stern Palameed.
> (Fairfax's Tasso, i, 55.)

Fairfax published his translation of Tasso's Jerusalem Delivered in 1600, i.e. about ten years after the appearance of the first three books of the Faerie Queene. He evidently copied Spenser, whose *yond,* like his preposterous *derring-do,* is due to a misunderstanding of Chaucer. The Oxford Dictionary points out that the phrase which misled him was probably

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[1] An old word for " mad "; cf. Ger. *wut*, frenzy.
[2] Reached

from the Clerk of Oxford's Tale of Patient Grizel, **in** which he took the Mid. English adverb *yond* for **a** post-posed adjective.   The passage occurs in Chaucer's " envoy " to the story, advising wives to show spirit :

> Ye archiwyves stondeth at defense,
> Syn ye be strong as is a greet camaille,
> Ne suffreth nat that men yow doon offense ;
> And sklendre wyves, fieble, as in bataille,
> Beth egre as is a tygre yond in Ynde[1] ;
> Ay clappeth as a mille, I yow consaille.
>
> (Chauc. E. 1195.)

[1] Be fierce as is a tiger yonder in India

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